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CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

*SI-YU-KI*

Buddhist Records  
of  
The Western World

# CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

*Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*

by  
SAMUEL BEAL

11261

## Volume One



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### PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This is the first volume of the *Buddhist Records of the Western World* which was first published in the Trubners' Oriental Series.

It incorporates the records of the travels of various Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of our era and embody the testimony of independent eye-witnesses as to the facts related therein.

This Volume is a verbatim reprint of the Book I of the original edition, the subsequent portion of which is to be completed in three more volumes.



## INTRODUCTION

The progress which has been made in our knowledge of Northern Buddhism during the last few years is due very considerably to the discovery of the Buddhist literature of China. This literature (now well known to us through the catalogues already published)<sup>1</sup> contains, amongst other valuable works, the records of the travels of various Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of our era. These records embody the testimony of independent eye-witnesses as to the facts related in them, and having been faithfully preserved and allotted a place in the collection of the sacred books of the country, their evidence is entirely trustworthy.

It would be impossible to mention *seriatim* the various points of interest in these works, as they refer to the geography, history, manners, and religion of the people of India. The reader who looks into the pages that follow will find ample material for study on all these questions. But there is one particular that gives a more than usual interest to the records under notice, and that is the evident sincerity and enthusiasm of the travellers themselves. Never did more devoted pilgrims leave their native country to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion; never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain, and sea than these simple-minded earnest Buddhist priests. And that such courage, religious devotion, and power of endurance should be exhibited by men so sluggish, as we think, in their very nature as the Chinese, this is very surprising, and may perhaps arouse some consideration.

Buddhist books began to be imported into China during the closing period of the first century of our era. From these books the Chinese learned the history of the founder of the new religion, and became familiar with the names of the sacred spots he had consecrated by his presence. As time went on and strangers from India and the neighbourhood still flocked into the Eastern Empire, some of the new converts (whose names have been lost) were urged by curiosity or a sincere desire to gaze on the mementoes of the religion they had learned to adopt, to risk the perils of travel and visit the western region. We are told by I-tsing (one of the writers of these Buddhist records), who lived about 670 A. D., that 500 years before his time twenty men, or about that number, had

<sup>1</sup>. *Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka*, by Samuel Beal; *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, by Bunyiu Nanjio.

found their way through the province of Sz'chuen to the Mahabodhi tree in India, and for them and their fellow-countrymen a Maharaja called Srigupta built a temple. The establishment was called the "Tchina Temple." In I-tsing's days it was in ruins. In the year 290 A. D. we find another Chinese pilgrim called Chu Si-hing visiting Khotan; another called Fa-ling shortly afterwards proceeded to North India, and we can hardly doubt that others unknown to fame followed their example. At any rate, the recent accidental discovery of several stone tablets with Chinese inscriptions at Buddha Gaya,<sup>2</sup> on two of which we find the names of the pilgrims Chi-I and Ho-yun, the former in company "with some other priests," shows plainly that the sacred spots were visited from time to time by priests from China, whose names indeed are unknown to us from any other source, but who were impelled to leave their home by the same spirit of religious devotion and enthusiasm which actuated those with whom we are better acquainted.

The first Chinese traveller whose name and writings have come down to us is the Sakyaputra Fa-hian. He is the author of the records which follow in the pages of the present Introduction. His work, the *Fo-kwo-ki*, was first known in Europe through a translation<sup>3</sup> made by Abel Remusat. But Klaproth claimed the discovery of the book itself from the year 1816,<sup>4</sup> and it was he who shaped the rough draft of Remusat's translation from chap. xxi. of the work in question to the end. Of this translation nothing need be said in this place; it has been dealt with elsewhere. It will be enough, therefore, to give some few particulars respecting the life and travels of the pilgrim, and for the rest to refer the reader to the translation which follows.

#### SHIH FA-HIAN : A. D. 400

In agreement with early custom, the Chinese mendicant priests who adopted the Buddhist faith changed their names at the time of their leaving their homes (ordination), and assumed the title of Sakyaputras, sons or mendicants of Sakya. So we find amongst the inscriptions at Mathura<sup>5</sup> the title Sakya Bhikshunyaka or Sakya Bhikshor added to the religious names of the different benefactors there mentioned. The pilgrim Fa-hian, therefore, whose original name was Kung, when he assumed the religious title by which he is known to us, took also the appellation of Shih or the Sakyaputra, the disciple or

<sup>2</sup> See *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, vol. xiii. pp. 552-572. <sup>3</sup> *Foe koue ki*, Paris, 1836.  
<sup>4</sup> Julien's Preface to the *Vie de Houen Thsang*, p. ix. n. 2. <sup>5</sup> *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. iii. pp. 37, 48; also John Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, vol. v. pp. 182 ff.

son of Sakya. He was a native of Wu-Yang, of the district of Ping-Yang, in the province of Shan-si. He left his home and became a Sramanera at three years of age. His early history is recorded in the work called *Ko-sang-chuen*, written during the time of the Liang dynasty, belonging to the Suh family (502-507 A. D.). But so far as we are now concerned, we need only mention that he was moved by a desire to obtain books not known in China, and with that aim set out in company with other priests (some of whom are named in the records) from Chang'an, A. D. 399, and after an absence of fourteen years returned to Nankin, where, in connection with Buddhahadra (an Indian Sramana, descended from the family of the founder of the Buddhist religion), he translated various works and composed the history of his travels. He died at the age of eighty-six.

Fa-hian's point of departure was the city of Chang'an in Shen-si; from this place he advanced across the Lung district (or mountains) to the fortified town of Chang-yeh in Kan-suh; here he met with some other priests, and with them proceeded to Tun-hwang, a town situated to the south of the Bulunghir river, lat.  $39^{\circ}30'$  N., long.  $95^{\circ}$  E. Thence with four companions he pushed forward, under the guidance, as it seems, of an official, across the desert of Lop to Shen-shen, the probable site of which is marked in the map accompanying the account of Prejevalsky's journey through the same district; according to this map it is situated in lat.  $38^{\circ}$  N., and long.  $87^{\circ}$  E. It corresponds with the Cherchen of Marco Polo. Fa-hian tells us that Buddhism prevailed in this country, and that there were about 4000 priests. The country itself was rugged and barren. So Marco Polo says, "The whole of this province is sandy, but there are numerous towns and villages." The Venetian traveller makes the distance from the town of Lop five days' journey. Probably Fa-hian did not visit the town of Cherchen, but after a month in the kingdom turned to the north-west, apparently following the course of the Tarim, and after fifteen days arrived in the kingdom of Wu-i or Wu-ki. This kingdom seems to correspond to Karshar or Karasharh, near the Lake Tenghiz or Bagarash, and is the same as the 'O-ki-ni of Hiuen Tsiang.' Prejevalsky took three days in travelling from Kara-moto to Korla, a distance of about 42 miles,\* so that the fifteen days of Fa-hian might well represent in point of time the distance from Lake Lob to Karasharh. Our pilgrims would here strike on the outward route of Hinen Tsiang. It was at this spot they fell in with their companions Pao-yun and the rest, whom they had left at Tun-hwang. These had probably travelled to Karasharh by

\* Marco Polo, See *Infra*. \* See *Infra*. \* Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, p. 50.

the northern route, as it is called, through Kamil or Kamul to Pidshan and Turfan; for we read that whilst Fa-hian remained at Karasharh, under the protection of an important official, some of the others went back to Kao-chang (Turfan), showing that they had come that way.

From Karasharh Fa-hian and the others, favoured by the liberality of Kung sun (who was in some way connected with the Prince of Ts'in), proceeded south-west to Khotan. The route they took is not well ascertained; but probably they followed the course of the Tarim and of the Khotan rivers. There were no dwellings or people on the road, and the difficulties of the journey and of crossing the rivers "exceeded power of comparison." After a month and five days they reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers.<sup>9</sup> There is some reason for connecting this "land of Li" with the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. It is said by Csoma Korosi "that the Tihetan writers derive their first king (about 250 B. C.) from the Litsabyis or Lichavyis."<sup>10</sup> The chief prince or ruler of the Lichchhavis was called the "great lion" or "the noble lion."<sup>11</sup> This is probably the explanation of Maha-li, used by Spence Hardy as "the name of the king of the Lichawis."<sup>12</sup> Khotan would thus be the land of the lion-people (*Simhas*). Whether this be so or not, the polished condition of the people and their religious zeal indicate close connection with India, more probably with Bactria. The name of the great temple, a mile or two to the west of the city, called the Nava-sangharama, or royal "new temple," is the same as that on the south-west of Balkh, described by Hinen Tsiang; and the introduction of Vaisravana as the protector of this convent, and his connection with Khotan, the kings of that country being descended from him, indicate a relationship, if not of race, at least of intercourse between the two kingdoms.

After witnessing the car procession of Khotan, Fa-hian and some others (for the pilgrims had now separated for a time), advanced for twenty-five days towards the country of Tseu-ho, which, according to Klaproth, corresponds with the district of Yangi-hissar, from which there is a caravan route due south into the mountain region of the Tsungling. It was by this road they pursued their journey for four days to a station named Yu-hwui, or, as it may also be read, Yu-fai; here they kept their religious fast, after which, journeying for twenty-five days, they reached the country of Kie-sha. I cannot understand how either of the last-named places can be identified with

<sup>9</sup> Rockhill. <sup>10</sup> *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 236, n. <sup>11</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xix. p. 258. <sup>12</sup> *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 282.

Ladakh.<sup>13</sup> Yn-hwui is four days south of Tseu-ho;<sup>14</sup> and twenty-five days beyond this brings the pilgrims to the country of Kie-sha, in the centre of the Tsung-ling mountains.

Nor can we, on the other hand, identify this kingdom of Kie-sha (the symbols are entirely different from those used by Hiuen Tsiang, ii. p. 306, for Kashgar) with that of the Kossai of Ptolemy, the Khasas of Manu, and the Khasakas of the *Vishnu Purana*.<sup>15</sup> These appear to have been related to the Cushites of Holy Scripture.

Advancing for a month across the Tsung-ling range towards India, the pilgrims reached the little country of To-li, that is, the valley of Darail in the Dard country. This valley is on the right or western bank of the Indus, long. 73° 44' E., and is watered by a river Daril. Still advancing south-west for fifteen days, they strike the Indus (or probably the Swat river), crossing which, they enter on the kingdom of Udyana, where they found Buddhism in a flourishing condition. Here then we may leave Fa-hian; his farther travels may be followed by the details given in his own writings, and to these we refer the reader.

#### SUNG YUN : A. D. 518

This pilgrim was a native of Tun-hwang, in what is sometimes called Little Tibet, lat. 39° 30' N., long. 95° E. He seems to have lived in a suburb of the city of Lo-yang (Honan-fu) called Wan-I. He was sent, A.D. 518, by the Empress of the Northern Wei dynasty, in company with Hwei Sang, a Bhikshu of the Shung-li temple of Lo-yang, to the western countries to seek for books. They brought back altogether one hundred and seventy volumes or sets of the Great Development series. They seem to have taken the southern route from Tunhwang to Khotan, and thence by the same route as Fa-hian and his companion across the Tsung-ling mountains. The Ye-tha (Ephthalites) were now in possession of the old country of the Yue-chi, and had recently conquered Gandhara. They are described as having no walled towns, but keeping order by means of a standing army that moved here and there. They used felt (leather) garments, had no written character, nor any knowledge of the heavenly bodies. On all hands it is plain the Ye-tha were a rude horde of Turks who had followed in the steps of the Hiung-nu; they were, in fact, the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers. "In the early part of the sixth century their power extended over Western India, and Cosmas tells us

<sup>13</sup> See Laidlay's note, *Fa-hian*, and Wood's *Oxus* (Yule's introduction).

<sup>14</sup> So we read in Fa-hian's text. <sup>15</sup> See Eitel, *Handbook*, s.v. *Khacha*; Laidlay's *Fa-hian*.



of their king Gollas who domineered there with a thousand elephants and a vast force of horsemen."<sup>16</sup> Sung-yun also names the power of the king whom the Ye-tha had set up over Gandhara. He was of the Lae-lih dynasty, or a man of Lae-lih, which may perhaps be restored to Lara. According to Hiuen Tsiang,<sup>17</sup> the northern Lara people belonged to Valabhi, and the southern Laras to Malava. It was one of these Lara princes the Ye-tha had set over the kingdom of Gandhara. It may have been with the Gollas of Cosmas that the Chinese pilgrims had their interview. At any rate, he was lording it over the people with seven hundred war-elephants, and was evidently a fierce and oppressive potentate.

The Ye-tha, according to Sung-yun, had conquered or received tribute from more than forty countries in all, from Tieh-lo in the south to Lae-lih in the north, eastward to Khotan, westward to Persia. The symbols Tieh-lo probably represent Tirahhukti, the present Tirhut, the old land of the Vrijjis. The Vrijjis themselves were in all probability Scythian invaders, whose power had reached so far as the horders of the Ganges at Patna, but had there been checked by Ajatasatru. They had afterwards been driven north-east to the mountains bordering on Nepal.<sup>18</sup> The Ye-tha also extended their power so far as this, and northward to Lae-lih, i.e., Malava. As these conquests had been achieved two generations before Sung-yun's time, we may place this invasion of India therefore about A.D. 460.

The notices of the country of Udyana by Sung-yun vie with those found in Hiuen Tsiang for abundance of detail and legendary interest. It is singular that the supposed scene of the history of Vessantara, "the giving king" of Hiuen Tsiang and the Pi-lo of Sung-yun, should be placed in this remote district. The *Vessantara Jataka* (so called) was well known in Ceylon in Fa-hian's time;<sup>19</sup> it forms part of the sculptured scenes at Amaravati and Sanchi; it is still one of the most popular stories amongst the Mongols. How does the site of the history come to be placed in Udyana? There are some obscure notices connected with the succession of the Maurya or Moriya sovereigns from the Sakya youths who fled to this district of Udyana which may throw a little light on this subject. The Buddhists affirm that Asoka belonged to the same family as Buddha, because he was descended from Chandragupta, who was the child of the queen of one of the sovereigns of Moriyaganagara. This Moriyaganagara was the city founded by the Sakya youths who fled from Kapilavastu; so that whatever old legends were connected with the

<sup>16</sup> Yule, Wood's *Oxus*. <sup>17</sup> See *Infra*. <sup>18</sup> V. de St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 368. <sup>19</sup> *Fa-hian, Infra*.

Sakya family were probably referred to Udyana by the direct or indirect influence of Asoka, or by his popularity as a Buddhist sovereign. But, in any case, the history of Udyana is mixed up with that of the Sakya family, and Buddha himself is made to acknowledge Uttarasena as one of his own kinsmen. We may suppose then that these tales did actually take their rise from some local or family association connected with Udyana, and found their way thence into the legends of other countries. Hence while we have in the Southern account mention made of the elephant that could bring rain from heaven, which was the cause of Vessantara's banishment, in the Northern accounts this is, apparently, identified with the peacock (*mayura*) that brought water from the rock. But the subject need not be pursued farther in this place; it is sufficient to note the fact that many of the stories found in the Northern legends are somehow or other localised in this pleasant district of Udyana. Sung-yun, after reaching so far as Peshawar and Nagarahara, returned to China in the year A.D. 521.

#### HIUEN TSIANG : A.D. 629

This illustrious pilgrim was born in the year 603 A.D., at Ch'in Liu, in the province of Ho-nan, close to the provincial city. He was the youngest of four brothers. At an early age he was taken by his second brother, Changtsi, to the eastern capital, Lo-yang. His brother was a monk belonging to the Tsing-tu temple, and in this community Hiuén Tsiang was ordained at the age of thirteen years.<sup>10</sup> On account of the troubles which occurred at the end of the dynasty of Sui, the pilgrim in company with his brother sought refuge in the city of Shing-tu, the capital of the province of Sz'chuen, and here at the age of twenty he was fully ordained as a Bhikshu or priest. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at length to Chang'an. It was here, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hain and Chi-yen, that he resolved to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. He was now twenty-six years of age. He accordingly set out from Chang'an in company with a priest of Tsing-chan of Kan-suh, and having reached that city, rested there. Thence he proceeded to Lan-chan, the provincial city of Kan-suh. He then advanced with a magistrate's escort to Liang-chau, a prefecture of Kan-suh, beyond the river. This city was the entrepot for merchants from Tibet and the countries east of the Tsungling mountains; and to these Hinen Tsiang explained the sacred books and revealed his purpose of going to the kingdom of the Brahmans to seek for the law.

<sup>10</sup> That is, became a novice or Sramanera.

By them he was amply provided with means for his expedition, and, notwithstanding the expostulation of the governor of the city, by the connivance of two priests he was able to proceed westward as far as Kwa-chau, a town about ten miles to the south of the Hu-lu river, which seems to be the same as the Bulnghir.

From this spot, going north in company with a young man who had offered to act as his guide, he crossed the river by night, and after escaping the treachery of his guide, came alone to the first watch-tower. Five of these towers, at intervals of 100 li, stretched towards the country of I-gu (Kamul). We need not recount the way in which the pilgrim prevailed on the keepers of the first and fourth tower to let him proceed; nor is it necessary to recount the fervent prayers to Kwan-yin and his incessant invocation of the name of this divinity. Suffice it to say, he at last reached the confines of I-gu, and there halted. From this place he was summoned by the prince of Kaoohang (Turfan), who, after vainly attempting to keep him in his territory, remitted him to 'O-ki-ni, that is, Karasharh, from which he advanced to Kuche. Here the narrative in the pages following carries us on through the territory of Kuche to Baluka, or Bai, in the Aksu district, from whence the pilgrim proceeds in a northerly direction across the Icy Mountains (Muzart) into the well-watered plains bordering on the Tsing Lake (Issykkul); he then proceeded along the fertile valley of the Su-yeh river (the Chu or Chui) to the town of Taras and thence to Nujkend and Tashkand.

It is not necessary to follow the pilgrim's route farther than this, as the particulars given in the translation following, and the notes thereto, will sufficiently set forth the line of his advance.

Hiuen Tsiang returned from his Indian travels across the Pamir and through Kashgar and the Khotan districts. He had been away from China since A.D. 629; he returned A.D. 645. He brought back with him—

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body (flesh) of Tathagata.
2. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal. This figure is a copy of the statue which Udayana, king of Kausamhi, had made.
4. A similar statue of sandal-wood, copy of the figure made after Buddha descended from the Trayastrimsas heaven.
5. A silver statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
7. A sandal-wood figure of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.

8. One hundred and twenty-four works(*sutras*) of the Great Vehicle.

9. Other works, amounting in the whole to 520 fasciculi, carried by twenty-two horses.

There are many interesting particulars given in the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang" by Hwui-lih, which need not be named here, respecting the work of translation and the pilgrim's death at the age of sixty-five. They will be fully set forth in the translation of that memoir.

We will simply add, that of all the books translated by Hiuen Tsiang, there are still seventy-five included in the collection of the Chinese *Tripitaka*. The titles of these books may be seen in the catalogue prepared by Bunyiu Nanjio, coll. 435, 436.

#### BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN CHINA

Although it was known that there were copies of translations of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* in the great monasteries in China, no complete set of these books had been brought to England until the Japanese Government furnished us with the copy now in the India Office Library in the year 1875. Respecting these books I will extract one passage from the report which was drawn up by direction of the Secretary of State for India :

"The value of the records of the 'Chinese pilgrims' who visited India in the early centuries of our era, and the account of whose travels is contained in this collection, is too well understood to need any remark. I regret that none of the books referred to by Stas. Julien, in his introduction to the '*Vie de Hiouen Tsiang*,' and which he thought might be found in Japan, are contained in this collection; but there is still some hope that they may be found in a separate form in some of the remote monasteries of that country, or more probably in China itself."<sup>11</sup>

To that opinion I still adhere. I think that if searching inquiry were made at Honan-fu and its neighbourhood, we might learn something of books supposed to be lost. And my opinion is grounded on this circumstance, that efforts which have been made to get copies (in the ordinary way) of books found in the collection of the *Tripitaka* have failed, and reports furnished that such works are lost. Stas. Julien himself tells us that Dr. Morrison, senior, reported that the *Si-yu-ki* (the work here translated) could not be procured in China. And such is the listlessness of the Chinese literati about Buddhist books, and such the seclusion and isolation of many of the Buddhist establishments in China, that I believe

<sup>11</sup> Beal's Catalogue, p. I.

books may still exist, or even original manuscripts, of which we know nothing at present. It would be strange if such were not the case, considering what has taken place in respect of fresh discoveries of fragments or entire copies of MSS. of our own sacred scriptures in remote monasteries of Christendom.

In conclusion, I desire to express the debt I owe, in the execution of this and other works, to the learning and intimate knowledge of the Chinese language possessed by Stas. Julien.

I should not have attempted to follow in his steps had his own translation of the *Si-yu-ki* been still procurable. But as it had long been out of print, and the demand for the book continued to be urgent, I have attempted to furnish an independent translation in English of the Chinese pilgrim's travels.

I am very largely indebted to James Burgess, for assistance in carrying these volumes through the press. His close acquaintance with Buddhist archæology and literature will give value to many of the notes which appear on the pages following, and his kind supervision of the text and preparation of the index attached to it demand my thanks and sincere acknowledgments.

I am also under great obligations to Colonel Yule, and to Dr. R. Rost, for their ever-ready help and advice, especially during my visits to the Library of the India Office.

I have not overlooked the remarks of various writers who have honoured me by noticing my little book (*Buddhist Pilgrims*), published in 1869. I venture, however, to hope that I have by this time established my claim to be regarded as an independent worker in this field of literature. I have not therefore quoted instances of agreement or disagreement with the writers referred to; in fact, I have purposely avoided doing so, as my object is not to write a chapter of grammar, but to contribute towards the history of a religion; but I have suffered no prejudice to interfere with the honesty of my work.

I shall now proceed to the translation of the travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun, referring the student to the original edition of my *Buddhist Pilgrims* for many notes and explanations of the text, which want of space forbids me to reproduce in these volumes.

# THE TRAVELS OF FA-HIAN

## BUDDHIST-COUNTRY-RECORDS

*By Fa-hian, the Sakya of the Sung (Dynasty)*

[DATE, 400 A.D.]

FA-HIAN, when formerly residing at Ch'ang-an,<sup>1</sup> regretted the imperfect condition of the *Vinaya pitaka*. Whereupon, afterwards, in the second year of Hung-shi, the cyclic year being *Chi-hai*,<sup>2</sup> he agreed with Hwui-king, Tao-ching, Hwui-ying, Hwui-wu, and others, to go to India for the purpose of seeking the rules and regulations (*of the Vinaya*).

Starting on their way from Ch'ang-an, they crossed the Lung (*district*) and reached the country of K'ien-kwei;<sup>3</sup> here they rested during the rains. The season of the rains being over, going forward, they came to the country of Niu-t'an;<sup>4</sup> crossing the Yang-lu hills, they reached Chang-yeh,<sup>5</sup> a military station. Chang-yeh at this time was much disturbed, and the roadways were not open. The king<sup>6</sup> of Chang-yeh being anxious, kept them there, himself entertaining them. Thus they met Chi-yen, Hwui-kin, Sang-shau, Pao-yun, Sang-king, and others; pleased that they were like-minded, they kept the rainy season together. The rainy season being over, they again pressed on to reach Tun-hwang.<sup>7</sup> The fortifications here are perhaps 80 li in extent from east to west, and 40 li from north to south. They all stopped here a month and some days, when Fa-hian and others, five men in all, set out first, in the train of an official, and so again parted with Pao-yun and the rest. The prefect of Tun-hwang, called Li-ho, provided them with means to cross the desert (*sand-river*).<sup>8</sup> In this desert are many evil demons and hot winds; when encountered, then all die without exception. There are no flying birds above, no roaming beasts below, but everywhere gazing as far as the eye can reach in search of the

<sup>1</sup> The former capital of the province of Shenrsi, now called Si-gan-fu.

<sup>2</sup> There is an error here of one year. It should be the cyclical characters *Kang tsze*, i.e., A.D. 400-401 (*Ch. Ed.*) <sup>3</sup> This is the name of the prince who ruled the country. The capital town is, according to Klaproth, to the north-east of Kin, a *hian* town close to Lan-chau. <sup>4</sup> This is also the name of a prince, and not of a country. He ruled over a district called Ho-si, "the country to the west of the (Yellow) River" (Tangut). <sup>5</sup> Chang Yeh is still marked on the Chinese maps just within the north-west extremity of the Great Wall. <sup>6</sup> Called Tun-nieh, who died A. D. 401 (*Ch. Ed.*)

<sup>7</sup> A frontier town of considerable military importance, 39° 30' N. lat., 95° E. long. (Prejevalsky's Map). This town was wrested from Tun-nieh in the third month of this year by Li Ho, or more properly Li Ko, who ruled as the "illustrious warrior king of the Liang dynasty" (*Ch. Ed.*) <sup>8</sup> The desert of Lop (Marco Polo).

onward route, it would be impossible to know the way but for dead men's decaying bones, which show the direction.

Going on for seventeen days about 1500 li, they reached the country of Shen-shen.<sup>9</sup>

This land is rugged and barren. The clothing of the common people is coarse, and like that of the Chinese people; only they differ in respect to the serge and felt. The king of this country honours the law (of Buddha). There are some 4000 priests, all of the Little Vehicle belief (*learning*). The laity and the Sramanas of this country wholly practise the religion of India, only some are refined and some coarse (in their observances). From this proceeding westward, the countries passed through are all alike in this respect, only the people differ in their language (*Hu words*). The professed disciples of Buddha, however, all use Indian books and the Indian language. Remaining here a month or more, again they went north-west for fifteen days and reached the country of Wu-i (Wu-ki?).<sup>10</sup> The priests of Wu-i also are about 4000 men; all (*belong to*) the Little Vehicle (*school of*) learning; their religious rules are very precise (*arranged methodically*). When Sramanas of the Ts'in land arrive here, they are unprepared for the rules of the priests. Fa-hian obtaining the protection of Kung-sun, an official (*hing t'ang*) of the Fu (*family*), remained here two months and some days. Then he returned to Pao-yun and the others.<sup>11</sup> In the end, because of the want of courtesy and propriety on the part of the Wu-i people, and because their treatment of their guests was very cool, Chi-yen, Hwui-kin, and Hwui-wu forthwith went back towards Kao-chang, in order to procure necessities for the journey. Fa-hian and the others, grateful for the presents they received of Fu Kung-sun, forthwith journeyed to the south-west. On the road there were no dwellings or people. The sufferings of their journey on account of the difficulties of the road and the rivers (*water*) exceed human power of comparison. They were on the road a month and five days, and then managed to reach Khotan.<sup>12</sup>

This country is prosperous and rich (*happy*); the people are very wealthy, and all without exception honour the law (of Buddha). They use religious music for mutual entertainment. The body of priests number even several myriads, principally belonging to the Great Vehicle. They all have food provided for them (*church-food, commons*); the people live here and there.

\* The kingdom of Shen-shen or Leu-lan (conf. Richtofen in Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, p. 144, and *passim*). <sup>10</sup> The pilgrims probably followed the course of the river Tarim. <sup>11</sup> It would appear from this that Fa-hian had reached Wu-i by the route of Lake Lop and the river Tarim; the others had gone from Tun-hwang by another route. <sup>12</sup> Called in Tibetan works Li-yul, or the land of Li. It is possible that the word Li (which means *bell-metal* in Tibetan) may be connected with *li* in *Lichchhavis*.

Before their house doors they raise little towers, the least about twenty feet high. There are priests' houses for the entertainment of foreign priests and for providing them with what they need. The ruler of the country lodged Fa-hian and the rest in a *sangharama*. The name of the *sangharama* was Gomati. This is a temple of the Great Vehicle with three thousand priests, who assemble to eat at the sound of the *ghanta*. On entering the dining-hall, their carriage is grave and demure, and they take their seats in regular order. All of them keep silence; there is no noise with their eating-bowls; when the attendants (*pure men*) give more food, they are not allowed to speak to one another, but only to make signs with the hand. Hwui-king, Tao-ching, Hwui-ta set out in advance towards the Kie-sha country, but Fa-hian and the rest, desiring to see the image-procession, remained three months and some days. In this country there are fourteen great *sangharamas*, not counting the little ones. From the first day of the fourth month they sweep and water the thoroughfares within the city and decorate the streets. Above the city gate they stretch a great awning and use every kind of adornment. This is where the king and the queen and court ladies take their place. The Gomati priests, as they belong to the Great Vehicle, is principally honoured by the king, first of all take their images in procession. About three or four li from the city they make a four-wheeled image-car about thirty feet high, in appearance like a moving palace, adorned with the seven precious substances. They fix upon it streamers of silk and canopy curtains. The figure is placed in the car<sup>13</sup> with two Bodhisattvas as companions, whilst the Devas attend on them; all kinds of polished ornaments made of gold and silver hang suspended in the air. When the image is a hundred paces from the gate, the king takes off his royal cap, and changing his clothes for new ones, proceeds barefooted, with flowers and incense in his hand, from the city, followed by his attendants. On meeting the image, he bows down his head and worships at its feet, scattering the flowers and burning the incense. On entering the city, the queen and court ladies from above the gate-tower scatter about all kinds of flowers and throw them down in wild profusion. So splendid are the arrangements for worship.

The cars are all different, and each *sangharama* has a day for its image-procession. They begin on the first day of the fourth month and go on to the fourteenth day, when the processions end. The processions ended, the king and queen then return to the palace.

Seven or eight li to the west of the city there is a *sangharama* called the Royal-new-temple. It was eighty years in finishing,

<sup>13</sup> For some curious details about the *Rath-yatras*, or car-festivals, see Simpson, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., vol. xvi. pp. 13 ff.



and only after three kings (*reigns*) was it completed. It is perhaps twenty *chang* in height.\* It is adorned with carving and inlaid work, and covered with gold and silver. Above the roof all kinds of jewels combine to perfect it. Behind the tower there is a hall of Buddha, magnificent and very beautiful. The beams, pillars, doors, and window-frames are all gold-plated. Moreover, there are priests' apartments, also very splendid, and elegantly adorned beyond power of description. The kings of the six countries east of the Ling give many of their most valuable precious jewels (*to this monastery*), being seldom used (for personal adornment), [*or, they seldom give things of common use*].

After the image-procession of the fourth month, Sang-shau, one of the company, set out with a Tartar (Hu) pilgrim towards Kabul.<sup>14</sup> Fa-hian and the others pressed on towards the Tseu-ho country.<sup>15</sup> They were twenty-five days on the road, and then they arrived at this kingdom. The king of the country is earnest (in his piety). There are a thousand priests and more, principally belonging to the Great Vehicle. Having stopped here fifteen days, they then went south for four days<sup>16</sup> and entered the Tsung-ling mountains. Arriving at Yu-hwui, they kept their religious rest; the religious rest being over, they journeyed on twenty-five days to the Kie-sha<sup>17</sup> country, where they rejoined Hwui-king and the rest.

The king of this country keeps the *Pan-che-yue-sse*. The *Pan-che-yue-sse* (*Panchavarsha*, parishad) in Chinese words is "the great five-yearly assembly." At the time of the assembly he asks Sramanas from the four quarters, who come together like clouds. Being assembled, he decorates the priests' session place; he suspends silken flags and spreads out canopies; he makes gold and silver lotus flowers; he spreads silk behind the throne, and arranges the paraphernalia of the priests' seats. The king and the ministers offer their religious presents for one, two, or three months, generally during spring-time. The king-made assembly being over, he further exhorts his ministers to arrange their offerings; they then offer for one day, two days, three days, or five days. The offerings being finished, the king, taking from the chief officer of the embassy and from the great ministers of the country the horse he rides, with its saddle and bridle, mounts it, and then (taking) white taffeta, jewels of various kinds, and things required by the Sramanas, in union with his ministers he vows to give them all to the priests; having thus given them, they are redeemed at a price from the priests.

\* 290 feet. <sup>14</sup> Ki-pin. <sup>15</sup> Probably the Yarkand district. <sup>16</sup> They probably followed the Yarkand river. <sup>17</sup> For some remarks on this country see elsewhere. As stated elsewhere, a people called Kossaiol are noticed by Ptolemy. But they seem to be Cushites. Concerning the Kossaiol or Kassai, as a very ancient people, see T. G. Pinches' remarks, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol....p. 302.

The country is hilly and cold ; it produces no variety of grain ; only wheat will ripen. After the priests have received their yearly dues the mornings become frosty ; the king, therefore, every year induces the priests to make the wheat ripen, and after that to receive their yearly portion. There is a stone spitting-vessel in this country belonging to Buddha, of the same colour as his alms-dish. There is also a tooth of Buddha ; the people of the country have built a *stupa* on account of this tooth. There are a thousand priests and more, all belonging to the Little Vehicle. From the mountains eastward the common people wear garments made of coarse stuff, as in the Ts'in country, but with respect to felt and serge they are different. The religious practices of the Sramanas are so various and have increased so, that they cannot be recorded. This country is in the middle of the Ts'ung-ling range ; from the Ts'ung-ling onwards the plants, trees, and fruits are all different (*from those before met with*), except the bamboo, the *an-shih-lau* (pomegranate ?), and the sugar-cane.

From this going onwards towards North India, after being a month on the road, we managed to cross Ts'ung-ling. In Ts'ung-ling there is snow both in winter and summer. Moreover there are poison-dragons, who when evil-purposed spit poison, winds, rain, snow, drifting sand, and gravel-stones ; not one of ten thousand meeting these calamities, escapes. The people of that land are also called Snowy-mountain men (Tukharas ?). Having crossed (Ts'ung)-ling, we arrive at North India. On entering the borders there is a little country called To-li,<sup>10</sup> where there is again a society of priests all belonging to the Little Vehicle. There was formerly an Arhat in this country who by magic power took up to the Tusita heaven a skilful carver of wood to observe the length and breadth (*size*), the colour and look, of Maitreya Bodhi-sattva, that returning below he might carve wood and make his image (*that is*, carve a wooden image of him). First and last he made three ascents for observation, and at last finished the figure. Its length is 80 feet, and its upturned foot 8 feet ; on fast-days it ever shines brightly. The kings of the countries round vie with each other in their religious offerings to it. Now, as of yore, it is in this country.<sup>10</sup>

Keeping along (Ts'ung)-ling, they journeyed south-west for fifteen days. The road was difficult and broken, with steep crags and precipices in the way. The mountain-side is simply a stone wall standing up 10,000 feet. Looking down, the sight is confused, and on going forward there is no sure foothold. Below is a river called Sin-t'u-ho. In old days men bored through the rocks to make a way, and spread out side-ladders;

<sup>10</sup> Called the valley of Ta-li-lo by Hiuen Tsiang. For an account of this image see elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> For an account of

of which there are seven hundred (*steps*?) in all to pass. Having passed the ladders, we proceed by a hanging rope-bridge and cross the river. The two sides of the river are something less than 80 paces apart, as recorded by the *Kiu-yi*; <sup>20</sup> but neither Chang-kin nor Kan-ying of the Han arrived here. The body of priests asked Fa-hian whether it was known when the eastward passage of the religion of Buddha began. Hian replied, "When I asked the men of that land, they all said there was an old tradition that from the time of setting up the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, and afterwards, there were Sramanas from India who dispatched the dharma-vinaya beyond this river." The setting up of the image took place rather more than three hundred years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha, in the time of Ping-wang of the Chau family. <sup>21</sup> According to this, we may say that the extension of the great doctrine began from this image. If, then, Maitreya Mahasattva be not the successor of Sakya, who is there could cause the three gems to spread everywhere, and frontier men to understand the law? As we certainly know that the origin of the opening of the mysterious revolution is not man's work, so the dream of Ming Ti was from this also.

Crossing the river we come to the country of Wu-chang. <sup>22</sup> The country of Wu-chang commences North India. The language of Mid-India is used by all. Mid-India is what they call the middle country. The dress of the people, their food and drink, are also the same as in the middle country. The religion of Buddha is very flourishing. The places where the priests stop and lodge they call *sangharamas*. In all there are five hundred *sangharamas*; they belong to the Little Vehicle without exception. If a strange Bhikshu arrives here, they give him full entertainment for three days; the three days being over, then they bid him seek for himself a place to rest permanently.

Tradition says: When Buddha came to North India, he then visited this country. Buddha left here as a bequest the impression of his foot. The footprint is sometimes long and sometimes short, according to the thoughtfulness of a man's heart: it is still so, even now. Moreover, the drying-robe-stone in connection with the place where he converted the wicked dragon still remains. The stone is a *chang* and four-tenths high, and more than two *chang* across. It is smooth on one side. Three of the pilgrims, Hwui-king, Tao-ching, and Hwui-ta went on ahead towards Buddha's shadow and Nagarahara. Fa-hian and the rest stopped in this country during the rains; when over, they went down south to the country of Svät. <sup>23</sup>

In this country also the law of Buddha flourishes. This is the place where, in old days, Sakra, ruler of Devas, made

<sup>20</sup> A topographical description of the empire. <sup>21</sup> 770 A.D. <sup>22</sup> Udyana.

<sup>23</sup> Su-ho-to.

apparitionally the hawk and dove, in order to try Bodhisattva, who cut off his flesh to ransom the dove. Buddha, when he perfected wisdom, going about with his disciples, spoke thus: "This is the place where, in a former birth, I cut my flesh to ransom the dove." From this the people of the country getting to know the fact, built a *stupa* on the spot, and adorned it with gold and silver.

From this, descending eastward, journeying for five days, we arrive at the country of Gandhara.\* This is the place which Dharmavarddhana, the son of Asoka, governed. Buddha also in this country, when he was a Bodhisattva, gave his eyes in charity for the sake of a man. On this spot also they have raised a great *stupa*, adorned with silver and gold. The people of this country mostly study the Little Vehicle.

From this going east seven days, there is a country called Takshasila.<sup>24</sup> Buddha, when he was a Bodhisattva, gave his head in charity to a man in this place, and hence comes the name. Again going eastwards for two days, we come to the place where he gave his body to feed the starving tiger. On these two spots again are built great *stupas*, both adorned with every kind of precious jewel. The kings, ministers, and people of the neighbouring countries vie with one another in their offerings, scattering flowers and lighting lamps without intermission. These and the two *stupas* before named the men of that district call "the four great *stupas*."

From the country of Gandhara going south for four days, we come to the country of Purushapura (Peshawar).<sup>25</sup> Buddha in former days, whilst travelling with his disciples here and there, coming to this country, addressed Ananda thus: "After my death (*parinirvana*), a king of the country called Kanika or Kanishka\* will raise on this spot a *stupa*." After Kanishka's birth, he was going round on a tour of observation. At this time Sakra, king of Devas, wishing to open out his purpose of mind, took the form of a little shepherd-boy building by the roadside a tower. The king asked and said, "What are you doing?" Replying, he said, "Making a Buddha-tower." The king said, "Very good." On this the king built over the little boy's tower another tower, in height 40 *chang* and more, adorned with all precious substances. Of all *stupas* and temples seen by the travellers, none can compare with this for beauty of form and strength. Tradition says this is the highest of the towers in Jambudvīpa. When the king had completed his tower, the little tower forthwith came out from the side on the south of the great tower more than three feet high.

The alms-bowl of Buddha is still in this country. Formerly

\* Kien-to-wei.      \* Chu-ch'a-shi-lo, a Chinese word meaning "cut-off head".  
 \*\* Fu-lo-sha      \* Ki-ni-Kia.

a king of the Yue-chi, swelling<sup>36</sup> with his army, came to attack this country, wishing to carry off Buddha's alms-bowl. Having subdued the country, the king of the Yue-chi, deeply reverencing the law of Buddha, wished to take the bowl and go; therefore he began his religious offerings. The offerings made to the three precious ones being finished, he then caparisoned a great elephant and placed the bowl on it. The elephant then fell to the ground and was unable to advance. Then he made a four-wheeled carriage on which the dish was placed; eight elephants were yoked to draw it, but were again unable to advance. The king then knew that the time of his bowl-relationship was not come. So filled with shame and regrets, he built on this place a *stupa* and also a *sangharama*; moreover, he left a guard to keep up every kind of religious offering.

There are perhaps 700 priests. At the approach of noon the priests bring out the alms-bowl, and with the Upasakas make all kinds of offerings to it; they then eat their mid-day meal. At even, when they burn incense, they again do so. It is capable of holding two pecks and more. It is of mixed colour, but yet chiefly black. The four divisions are quite clear, each of them being about two-tenths thick. It is glistening and bright. Poor people with few flowers cast into it, fill it; but some very rich people, wishful with many flowers to make their offerings, though they present a hundred thousand myriad of pecks, yet in the end fail to fill it. Pao-yun and Sang-king only made their offerings to the alms-dish of Buddha and then went back. Hwui-king, Hwui-ta, and Tao-ching had previously gone on to the Nagarahara country to offer their common worship to the Buddha-shadow, his tooth and skull-bone. Hwui-king fell sick, and Tao-ching remained to look after him. Hwui-ta alone went back to Peshawar where he met with the others, and then Hwui-ta, Pao-yun, and Sang-king returned together to the Ts'in land. Hwui-ying, dwelling in the temple of Buddha's alms-bowl, died there. From this Fa-hian went on alone to the place of Buddha's skull-bone.

Going west 16 *yojanas*, (Fa-hian) reached the country of Nagarahara<sup>37</sup>. On the borders, in the city of Hidda,<sup>37</sup> is the *vihara* of the skull-bone of Buddha; it is gilded throughout and adorned with the seven precious substances.

The king of the country profoundly reverences the skull-bone. Fearing lest some one should steal it, he appoints eight men of the first families of the country, each man having a seal to seal (the door) for its safe keeping. In the morning, the eight men having come, each one inspects his seal, and then they open the

<sup>36</sup> This is a forced translation. I think the symbol *ta* should be placed before Yue-chi; it would thus refer to the Great Yue-chi. <sup>37</sup> Na-Kie.

<sup>37</sup> Hi-lo.

door. The door being opened, using scented water, they wash their hands and bring out the skull-bone of Buddha. They place it outside the *vihara* on a high throne ; taking a circular stand of the seven precious substances, the stand is placed below (*it*), and a glass bell as a cover over it. All these are adorned with pearls and gems. The bone is of a yellowish-white colour, four inches across and raised in the middle. Each day after its exit men of the *vihara* at once mount a high tower, beat a large drum, blow the conch, and sound the cymbal. Hearing these, the king goes to the *vihara* to offer flowers and incense. The offerings finished, each one in order puts it on his head (worships it) and departs. Entering by the east door and leaving by the west, the king every morning thus offers and worships, after which he attends to state affairs. Householders and elder-men also first offer worship and then attend to family affairs. Every day thus begins, without neglect from idleness. The offerings being all done, they take back the skull-bone. In the *vihara* there is a final-emancipation tower (*a tower shaped like a dagaba*) which opens and shuts, made of the seven precious substances, more than five feet high, to receive it.

Before the gate of the *vihara* every morning regularly, there are sellers of flowers and incense ; all who wish to make offerings may buy of every sort. The kings of the countries round also regularly send deputies to make offerings. The site of the *vihara* is forty paces square. Though heaven should quake and the earth open, this spot would not move.

Going from this one *yajana* north, we come to the capital of Nagarahara. This is the place where Bodhisattva, in one of his births, gave money in exchange for five flowers<sup>22</sup> to offer to Dipankara Buddha. In the city there is, moreover, a Buddha-tooth tower, to which religious offerings are made in the same way as to the skull-bone.

North-east of the city one *yojana* we come to the opening of a valley in which is Buddha's religious staff, where they have built a *vihara* for making offerings to it. The staff is made of ox-head sandal-wood ; its length is a *chang* and six or seven tenths ; it is enclosed in a wooden sheath, from which a hundred or a thousand men could not move it. Entering the valley and going west four days, there is the *vihara* of Buddha's *sanghati*, to which they make religious offerings. When there is a drought in that country, the magistrates and people of the country, coming together, bring out the robe for worship and offerings, then Heaven gives abundant rain. Half a *yajana* to the south of the city of Nagarahara there is a cavern (*stone dwelling*) ; it is on the south-west side of a high mountain. Buddha left his shadow

<sup>22</sup> These flowers are generally represented as growing on one stalk or stem (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. 1.)

here. At a distance of ten paces or so we see it, like the true form of Buddha, of a gold colour, with the marks and signs perfectly clear and shining. On going nearer to it or farther off, it becomes less and less like the reality. The kings of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness, but they have not been able (*to do so*). Moreover, those people have a tradition according to which the thousand Buddhas will here leave their shadows. About five hundred paces to the west of the shadow, when Buddha was alone, he cut his hair and pared his nails. Then Buddha himself with his disciples together built a tower about seven or eight *chang* high, as a model for all towers of the future. It still exists. Beside it is a temple; in the temple are 700 priests or so. In this district there are as many as a thousand towers in honour of Arhats and Pratyeka Buddhas.

After remaining here during two months of winter, Fa-hian and two companions went south across the Little Snowy Mountains. The Snowy Mountains, both in summer and winter, are covered (*heaped*) with snow. On the north side of the mountains, in the shade, excessive cold came on suddenly, and all the men were struck mute with dread; Hwui-king alone was unable to proceed onwards. The white froth came from his mouth as he addressed Fa-hian and said, "I too have no power of life left; but whilst there is opportunity, do you press on, lest you all perish." Thus he died. Fa-hian, caressing him, exclaimed in piteous voice, "Our purpose was not to produce fortune!"<sup>20</sup> Submitting, he again exerted himself and pressing forward, they so crossed the range; on the south side they reached the Rohi<sup>20</sup> country (*i.e.*, Afganistan). In this vicinity there are 3000 priests, belonging both to the Great and Little Vehicle. Here they kept the rainy season. The season past, descending south and journeying for ten days, they reached Bannu,<sup>21</sup> where there are also some 3000 priests or more, all belonging to the Little Vehicle. From this journeying eastward for three days, they again crossed the Sin-tu river. Both sides of it are now level.

The other side of the river there is a country named Bhida.<sup>22</sup> The law of Buddha is very flourishing; they belong both to the Great and Little Vehicle. When they saw pilgrims from China arrive, they were much affected and spoke thus, "How is it that men from the frontiers are able to know the religion of family-renunciation and come from far to seek the law of Buddha?" They liberally provided necessary entertainment according to the rules of religion.

Going south-east from this somewhat less than 80 *yojanas*, we passed very many temples one after another, with some

<sup>20</sup> Or, to be a fortunate one.    <sup>20</sup> Lo-i.    <sup>21</sup> Po-na.    <sup>22</sup> Pi-t'u.

myriad of priests in them. Having passed these places, we arrived at a certain country, called Mathura.<sup>33</sup> Once more we followed the Jamuna<sup>34</sup> river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, are twenty *sangharamas*, with perhaps 3000 priests. The law of Buddha is progressing and flourishing. Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. They remove their caps of state when they make offerings to the priests. The members of the royal household and the chief ministers personally direct the food-giving; when the distribution of food is over, they spread a carpet on the ground opposite the chief seat (the president's seat) and sit down before it. They dare not sit on couches in the presence of the priests. The rules relating to the almsgiving of kings have been handed down from the time of Buddha till now. Southward from this is the so-called middle-country (*Madhyadesa*). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll-tax or official restrictions. Only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop. The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined, according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion they only cut off the right hand. The king's personal attendants, who guard him on the right and left, have fixed salaries. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandalas only. The Chandalas are named "evil men" and dwell apart from others; if they enter a town or market, they sound a piece of wood in order to separate themselves; then men, knowing who they are, avoid coming in contact with them. In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine-shops in their market-places. In selling they use cowrie shells. The Chandalas only hunt and sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's *Nirvana*, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders, have raised *viharas* for the priests, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses, and gardens, with men and oxen. Engraved titled deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (*in these viharas*) have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint; in all places this is the case. The priests ever engage themselves in doing meritorious works for the purpose of religious advancement (*karma*—building up their religious character), or in reciting the

<sup>33</sup> Mo-tu-lo<sup>34</sup> Pu-na



scriptures, or in meditation. When a strange priest arrives, the senior priests go out to meet him, carrying for him his clothes and alms-bowl. They offer him water for washing his feet and oil for rubbing them; they provide untimely (*vikala*) food. Having rested awhile, they again ask him as to his seniority in the priesthood, and according to this they give him a chamber and sleeping materials, arranging everything according to the *dharma*. In places where priests reside they make towers in honour of Sariputra, of Mudgalaputra, of Ananda, also in honour of the *Abhidharma*, *Vinaya*, and *Sutra*. During a month after the season of rest the most pious families urge a collection for an offering to the priests; they prepare an untimely meal for them, and the priests in a great assembly preach the law. The preaching over, they offer to Sariputra's tower all kinds of scents and flowers; through the night they burn lamps provided by different persons. Sariputra originally was a Brahman; on a certain occasion he went to Buddha and requested ordination. The great Mndgala and the great Kasyapa did likewise. The Bhikshunis principally honour the tower of Ananda, because it was Ananda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders; Sramaneras mostly offer to Rahula; the masters of the *Abhidharma* offer to the *Abhidharma*; the masters of the *Vinaya* offer to the *Vinaya*. Every year there is one offering, each according to his own day. Men attached to the Mahayana offer to *Prajna-paramita*, Manjusri, and Avalokitesvara. When the priests have received their yearly dues, then the chief men and householders and Brahmans bring every kind of robe and other things needed by the priests to offer them; the priests also make offerings one to another. Down from the time of Buddha's death the rules of conduct for the holy priesthood have been (thus) handed down without interruption.

After crossing the Indus, the distance to the Southern Sea of South India is four to five myriads of li; the land is level throughout, without great mountains or valleys, but still there are rivers.

South-east from this, after going 18 *yojanas*, there is a country called Samkasya. This is the place where Buddha descended after going up to the Trayastrimsas heaven to preach the law during three months for his mother's benefit. When Buddha went up to the Trayastrimsas heaven by the exercise of his miraculous power (*spiritual power of miracle*), he contrived that his disciples should not know (*of his proceeding*). Seven days before the completion (*of the three months*) he broke the spell, so that Aniruddha, using his divine sight, beheld the Lord of the world afar, and forthwith addressed the venerable (Arya) Mahamudgalaputra, "You can go and salute the Lord of the world." Mudgalyayana accordingly went, and bowing down,

worshipped the foot and exchanged friendly greetings. The friendly meeting over, Buddha said to Mudgalyayana, "After seven days are over I shall descend to Jamhudvipa." Mudgalyayana then returned. On this the great kings of the eight kingdoms, the ministers and people, not having seen Buddha for a long time, were all desirous to meet him. They assembled like clouds in this country to meet the Lord of the world. At this time Utpala Bbikshuni thought thus with herself: "To-day the kings of the countries and the ministers and people are going to worship and meet Buddha. I am but a woman; how can I get to see him first?" Buddha forthwith by his miraculous power made her, by transformation, into a holy Cbakravarti king, and as such she was the very first to worship him. Buddha being now about to come down from the Trayastrimsas heaven, there appeared a threefold precious ladder. The middle ladder was made of the seven precious substances, standing above which Buddha began to descend. Then the king of the Brahma heavens (Brahmakayikas) caused a silver ladder to appear, on which he took his place on Buddha's right hand, holding a white chauri. Then Sakra, King of Devas, caused a bright golden ladder to appear, on which he took his place on the left, holding in his hand a precious parasol. Innumerable Devas were in attendance whilst Buddha descended. After he had come down, the three ladders disappeared in the earth, except seven steps, which remained visible. In after times Asoka, wishing to discover the utmost depths to which these ladders went, employed men to dig down and examine into it. They went on digging till they came to the yellow spring (the earth's foundation), but yet had not come to the bottom. The king, deriving from this an increase of faith and reverence, forthwith built over the ladders a *vihara*, and facing the middle flight he placed a standing figure (of Buddha) sixteen feet high. Behind the *vihara* he erected a stone pillar thirty cubits high, and on the top placed the figure of a lion. Within the pillar on the four sides are figures of Buddha; both within and without it is shining and bright as glass. It happened once that some heretical doctors had a contention with the Sramanas respecting this as a place of residence. Then the argument of the Sramanas failing, they all agreed to the following compact: "If this place properly belongs to the Sramanas, then there will be some supernatural proof given of it." Immediately on this the lion on the top of the pillar uttered a loud roar. Witnessing this testimony, the unbelievers, abashed, withdrew from the dispute and submitted.

The body of Buddha, in consequence of his having partaken of divine food during three months, emitted a divine fragrance, unlike that of men. Immediately after his descent he bathed himself. Men of after ages erected in this place a bath-house,

which yet remains. There is also a tower erected on the spot where the Bhikshuni Utpala was the first to adore Buddha. There is also a tower on the spot where Buddha when in the world cut his hair and his nails, and also on the following spots, viz., where the three former Buddhas, as well as Sakyamuni Buddha, sat down, and also where they walked for exercise, and also where there are certain marks and impressions of the different Buddhas. These towers still remain. There is also one erected where Brahma, Sakra, and the Devas attended Buddha when he came down from heaven. There are perhaps a thousand male and female disciples who have their meals in common. They belong promiscuously to the systems of the Great and Little Vehicle, and dwell together. A white-eared dragon is the patron of this body of priests. He causes fertilising and seasonable showers of rain to fall within their country, and preserves it from plagues and calamities, and so causes the priesthood to dwell in security. The priests, in gratitude for these favours, have erected a dragon-chapel, and within it placed a resting-place (*seat*) for his accommodation. Moreover, they make special contributions, in the shape of religious offerings, to provide the dragon with food. The body of priests every day select from their midst three men to go and take their meal in this chapel. At the end of each season of rain, the dragon suddenly assumes the form of a little serpent, both of whose ears are edged with white. The body of priests, recognising him, place in the midst of his lair a copper vessel full of cream; and then, from the highest to the lowest, they walk past him in procession as if to pay him greeting all round. He then suddenly disappears. He makes his appearance once every year. This country is very productive: the people are very prosperous, and exceedingly rich beyond comparison. Men of all countries coming here are well taken care of and obtain what they require. Fifty *yojanas* to the north of this temple there is a temple called "Fire Limit," which is the name of an evil spirit. Buddha himself converted this evil spirit, whereupon men in after ages raised a *vihara* on the spot. At the time of the dedication of the *vihara* an Arhat spilt some of the sacred water, poured on his hands, and let it fall on the earth, and the place where it fell is still visible; though they have often swept the place to remove the mark, yet it still remains and cannot be destroyed. There is, besides, in this place a tower of Buddha which a benevolent spirit ever keeps clean and waters, and which (*was built*) without a human architect. There was once an heretical king who said, "Since you can do this, I will bring a great army and quarter it here, which shall accumulate much filth and refuse. Will you be able to clear all this away, I wonder?" The spirit immediately caused a great tempest to rise and blow over the place, as a proof that he could do it. In this

district there are a hundred small towers ; a man might pass the day in trying to count them without succeeding. If any one is very anxious to discover the right number, then he places a man by the side of each tower and afterwards numbers the men ; but, even in this case, it can never be known how many or how few men will be required. There is also a *sangharama* here containing about 600 or 700 priests. In this is a place where a Pratyeka Buddha ate<sup>88</sup> (*the fruit*) ; the spot of ground where he died is just in size like a chariot-wheel ; all the ground around it is covered with grass, but this spot produces none. The ground also where he dried his clothes is bare of vegetation ; the traces of the impress of the clothes remain to this day.

Fa-Hian resided in the dragon *vihara* during the summer rest. After this was over, going south-east seven *yojanas*, he arrived at the city of Kanauj. \* This city borders on the Ganges. There are two *sangharamas* here, both belonging to the system of the Little Vehicle. Going from the city six or seven li in a westerly direction, on the north bank of the river Ganges, is the place where Buddha preached for the good of his disciples. Tradition says, that he preached on impermanency and sorrow, and also on the body being like a bubble and foam. On this spot they have raised a tower, which still remains. Crossing the Ganges and going south three *yojanas*, we arrive at a forest called A-lo. Here also Buddha preached the law. They have raised towers on this spot, and also where he sat down and walked for exercise.

Going south-east from this place ten *yojanas*, we arrive at the great country of Sha-chi. Leaving the southern gate of the capital city, on the east side of the road is a place where Buddha once dwelt. Whilst here he bit (*a piece from*) the willow stick and fixed it in the earth ; immediately it grew up seven feet high, neither more or less. The unbelievers and Brahmans, filled with jealousy, cut it down and scattered the leaves far and wide, but yet it always sprung up again in the same place as before. Here also they raised towers on places where the four Buddhas walked for exercise and sat down. The ruins still exist.

Going eight *yojanas* southwards from this place, we arrive at the country of Kosala<sup>89</sup> and its chief town Sravasti. † There are very few inhabitants in this city, altogether perhaps about 200 families. This is the city which King Prasenajit governed. Towers have been built in after times on the site of the ruined *vihara* of Mahaprajapati, also on the foundations (*of the house*) of the lord Sudatta, also on the spot where the Angulimalya was burnt, who was converted and enter-

<sup>88</sup> Probably the text is corrupt. There is a common phrase, "to drink the draught of sweet dew," a euphemism for "*died*." It may be so in the present instance. \* Ki-jou-i. \*\*Kiu-sa-lo. † She-wei.

ed nirvana; all these towers are erected in the city. The unbelieving Brahmans, from jealousy, desired to destroy these various buildings, but on attempting to do so, the heavens thundered and the lightnings flashed, so that they were unable to carry out their design. Leaving the city by the south gate and proceeding 1200 paces on the road, on the west side of it is the place where the lord Sudatta built a *vihara*. This chapel opens towards the east. The principal door is flanked by two side chambers, in front of which stand two stone pillars; on the top of the left-hand one is the figure of a wheel, and on the right-hand one the image of an ox. The clear water of the tanks, the luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues combine to produce the picture of what is called a Jetavana *vihara*. When Buddha ascended into the Trayastrimshas heavens to preach for the sake of his mother, after ninety days' absence, King Prasenajit desiring to see him again, carved out of the sandal-wood called Gosirshachandana (*ox-head*) an image of the Buddha and placed it on Buddha's throne. When Buddha returned and entered the *vihara*, the image, immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it: "Return, I pray you, to your seat. After my *Nirvana*, you will be the model from which my followers (*four schools or classes*) shall carve their images." On this the figure returned to its seat. This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model. Buddha then removed and dwelt in a small *vihara* on the south side of the greater one, in a place quite separated from that occupied by the image, and about twenty paces from it. The Jetavana *vihara* originally had seven stages. The monarchs of the surrounding countries and the people vied with each other in presenting religious offerings at this spot. They decked the place with flags and silken canopies; they offered flowers and burnt incense, whilst the lamps shone continually from evening till daylight with unfading splendour. A rat taking in his mouth the wick of a lamp caused it to set fire to one of the hanging canopies, and this resulted in a general conflagration and the entire destruction of the seven storeys of the *vihara*. The kings and people of the surrounding countries were deeply grieved, thinking that the sandalwood figure had also been consumed. Four or five days afterwards, on opening the door of the eastern little chapel, they were surprised to behold the original figure there. The people were filled with joy, and they agreed to rebuild the chapel. Having completed two stages, they removed the image from its new situation back to where it was before. When Fa-Hian and To-Ching arrived at this chapel of the Jetavana, they reflected that this was the spot in which the Lord of men had passed twenty-

five years of his life ; they themselves, at the risk of their lives, were now dwelling amongst foreigners ; of those who had with like purpose travelled through a succession of countries with them, some had returned home, some were dead ; and now, gazing on the place where Buddha once dwelt hut was no longer to be seen, their hearts were affected with very lively regret. Whereupon the priests belonging to that community came forward and addressed (Fa)-Hian and To-(Ching) thus : "From what country have you come ?" To which they replied, "We come from the land of Han." Then those priests, in astonishment, exclaimed, "Wonderful ! to think that men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the law ;" and then talking between themselves they said, "Our various superiors and brethren, who have succeeded one another in this place from the earliest time till now, have none of them seen men of Han come so far as this before."

Four li to the north-west of the *vihara* is a copse called "Recovered-sight." Originally there were 500 blind men dwelling on this spot beside the chapel. On one occasion Buddha declared the law on their account ; after listening to his sermon they immediately recovered their sight. The blind men, overcome with joy, drove their staves into the earth and fell down on their faces in adoration. The staves forthwith took root and grew up to be great trees. The people, from a feeling of reverence, did not presume to cut them down, and so they grew and formed a grove, to which this name of "Recovered-sight"<sup>36</sup> was given. The priests of the chapel of the Jetavana resort in great numbers to this shady copse to meditate after their mid-day meal. Six or seven li to the north-east of the Jetavana *vihara* is the site of the chapel which Mother Visakha built,<sup>37</sup> and invited Buddha and the priests to occupy. The ruins are still there. The great garden enclosure of the Jetavana *vihara* has two gates, one opening towards the east, the other towards the north. This garden is the plot of ground which the noble Sudatta bought after covering it with gold coins. The chapel is in the middle of it ; it was here Buddha resided for a very long time, and expounded the law for the salvation of men. Towers have been erected on the various spots where he walked for exercise or sat down. These towers have all distinctive names given them, as, for example, the place where Buddha was accused of murdering (*the harlot*) Sundari. Leaving the Jetavana by the eastern gate, and going north seventy paces, on the west side of the road is the place where Buddha formerly held a discussion with the followers

<sup>36</sup> Restored by Stan. Julien to Aptanetravana (tome ii. p. 308), and by Cunningham to Aptakshivana (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 344, n.) <sup>37</sup> This chapel of Mother Visakha is placed by Cunningham south-east from the Jetavana (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 345, n.) The text may be wrong.

of the ninety-six heretical schools. The king of the country, the chief ministers, the landowners and people, all came in great numbers to hear him. At this time a woman who was an unbeliever, called Chinchimana, being filled with jealousy, gathered up her clothes in a heap round her person so as to appear with child, and then accused Buddha in a meeting of priests of unrighteous conduct. On this Sakra, the king of Devas, taking the appearance of a white mouse, came and gnawed through her sash; on this the whole fell down, and then the earth opened and she herself went down alive into hell. Here also is the place where Devadatta, having poisoned his nails for the purpose of destroying Buddha, went down alive into hell. Men in after times noted these various places for recognition. Where the discussion took place they raised a chapel more than six *chang* \* high, with a sitting figure of Buddha in it. To the east of the road is a temple (*devalaya*) belonging to the heretics, which is named "Shadow-covered." It is opposite the *vihara* erected on the place of the discussion, and of the same height. It has received the name of "Shadow-covered" because when the sun is in the west, the shadow of the *vihara* of the Lord of the World covers the temple of the heretics; but when the sun is in the east, the shadow of the latter is bent to the north, and does not overshadow the chapel of Buddha. The heretics constantly appointed persons to take care of their temple, to sweep and water it, to burn incense and light lamps for religious worship; towards the approach of morning their lamps disappeared, and were discovered in the middle of the Buddhist chapel. On this the Brahmans, being angry, said, "These Sramanas take our lamps for their own religious worship;" whereupon the Brahmans set a night-watch, and then they saw their own gods take the lamps and move round Buddha's chapel three times, after which they offered the lamps and suddenly disappeared. On this the Brahmans, recognising the greatness of Buddha's spiritual power, forsook their families and became his disciples. Tradition says that about the time when these things happened there were ninety *sangharamas* surrounding the Jetavana chapel, all of which, with one exception, were occupied by priests. In this country of Mid-India there are ninety-six heretical sects, all of whom allow the reality of worldly phenomena. Each sect has its disciples, who beg their food, but do not carry alms-dishes. They also piously build hospices by the side of solitary roads for the shelter of travellers, where they may rest, sleep, eat and drink, and are supplied with all necessities. The followers of Buddha, also, as they pass to and fro, are entertained by them, only different arrangements are made for their convenience. Devadatta also has a body of disciples still existing; they pay religious

\* 70 feet.

reverence to the three past Buddhas, but not to Sakyamuni Buddha.<sup>39</sup>

Four li to the south-east of Sravasti is the place where the Lord of men stood by the side of the road when King Virudhaka (Liu-li) wished to destroy the country of the Sakya family; on this spot there is a tower built. Fifty li to the west of the city we arrive at a town called To-wai;<sup>40</sup> this was the birthplace of Kasyapa Buddha. Towers are erected on the spot where he had an interview with his father and also where he entered *Nirvana*. A great tower has also been erected over the relics of the entire body of Kasyapa Tathagata.

Leaving the city of Sravasti, and going twelve *yojanas* to the south-east, we arrived at a town called Na-pi-ka. This is the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda Buddha. There are towers erected on the spots where the interview between the father and son took place, and also where he entered *Nirvana*. Going north from this place less than one *yojana*, we arrive at a town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born; there are towers also erected here over similar places as the last.

Going eastward from this less than a *yojana*, we arrive at the city of Kapilavastu. In this city there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert.<sup>41</sup> There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. On the site of the ruined place of Suddhodana there is a picture of the prince's mother, whilst the prince, riding on a white elephant, is entering the womb. Towers have been erected on the following spots: where the royal prince left the city by the eastern gate; where he saw the sick man; and where he caused his chariot to turn and take him back to his palace. There are also towers erected on the following spots: at the place where Asita observed the marks of the royal prince; where Ananda and the others struck the elephant, drew it out of the way, and hurled it; where the arrow, going south-east 30 li, entered the earth, from which bubbled up a fountain of water, which in after generations was used as a well for traveller to drink at; also on the spot where Buddha, after arriving at supreme wisdom, met his father; where the 500 Sakyas, having embraced the faith, paid reverence to Upali; at the place where the earth shook six times; at the place where Buddha expounded the law on behalf of all the Devas, whilst the four heavenly kings guarded the four gates of the hall, so that his father could not enter: at the place where Mahaprajapati presented Buddha with a *sanghati* whilst he was sitting under a Nyagrodha tree with his face to the east, which tree still exists; at the place where Virudhaka-rajā killed the

<sup>39</sup> This is an important notice, as it indicates the character of Devadatta's position with reference to Buddha. <sup>40</sup> Tadwa. <sup>41</sup> Conf. Fergusson's *Archæology in India*, p. 110.



offspring of the Sakyas who had previously entered on the path *Srotapanna*. All these towers are still in existence.<sup>41</sup> A few li to the northeast of the city is the royal field where the prince, sitting underneath a tree, watched a ploughing-match. Fifty li to the east of the city is the royal garden called Lumbini; it was here the queen entered the bath to wash herself, and, having come out on the northern side, advanced twenty paces, and then holding a branch of the tree in her hand, as she looked to the east, brought forth the prince. When born he walked seven steps; two dragon-kings washed the prince's body,—the place where this occurred was afterwards converted into a well, and here, as likewise at the pool, the water of which came down from above for washing (the child), the priests draw their drinking water. All the Buddhas have four places universally determined for them: (1.) The place for arriving at supreme wisdom; (2.) The place for turning the wheel of the law; (3.) The place for expounding the true principles of the law and refuting the heretics; (4.) The place for descending to earth after going into the Trayastrimsas heaven to explain the law to their mothers. Other places are chosen according to existing circumstances. The country of Kapilavastu is now a great desert; you seldom meet any people on the roads for fear of the white elephants and the lions. It is impossible to travel negligently. Going east five *yojanas* from the place where Buddha was born, there is a country called Lan me (Ramagrama).

The king of this country obtained one share of the relics of Buddha's body. On his return home he built a tower, which is the same as the tower of Ramagrama. By the side of it is a tank in which lives a dragon, who constantly guards and protects the tower and worships there morning and night. When King Asoka was living he wished to destroy the eight towers and to build eighty-four thousand others. Having destroyed seven, he next proceeded to treat this one in the same way.<sup>42</sup> The dragon therefore assumed a body and conducted the king within his abode, and having shown him all the vessels and appliances he used in his religious services, he addressed the king and said: "If you can worship better than this, then you may destroy the tower. Let me take you out; I will have no quarrel with you." King Asoka, knowing that these vessels were of no human workmanship, immediately returned to his home. This place having become desert, there was no one either to water it or sweep, but ever and anon a herd of elephants carrying water in their trunks piously watered the ground, and also brought all sorts of flowers and perfumes to pay religious worship at the tower. Some pilgrims from different countries used to come

<sup>41</sup> Compare the accounts given by Hiuen Tsiang. <sup>42</sup> Cf. *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2298;

here to worship at the tower. On one occasion some of these met the elephants, and being much frightened, concealed themselves amongst the trees. Seeing the elephants perform their service according to the law, they were greatly affected. They grieved to think that there was no temple here or priests to perform religious service, so that the very elephants had to water and sweep. On this they gave up the great precepts and took upon them the duties of Sramaneras. They began to pluck up the brushwood and level the ground, and arrange the place so that it became neat and clean. They urged the king of the country to help make residences for the priests. Moreover they built a temple in which priests still reside. These things occurred recently, since which there has been a regular succession (of priests), only the superior of the temple has always been a Sramanera. Three *yojanas* east of this place is the spot where the royal prince dismissed his charioteer Chandaka and the royal horse, previous to their return. Here also is erected a tower.

Going eastward from this place four *yojanas*, we arrive at the Ashes-tower. Here also is a *Sangharama*. Again going twelve *yojanas* eastward, we arrive at the town of Kusinagara. To the north of this town, where the Lord of the World, lying by the side of the Hiranyavati river, with his head to the north and a *sal* tree on either side of him, entered *Nirvana*; also in the place where Subhadra<sup>43</sup> was converted, the very last of all his disciples; also where for seven days they paid reverence to the Lord of the World lying in his golden coffin; also where Vajrapani<sup>44</sup> threw down his golden mace, and where the eight kings divided the relics; in each of the above places towers have been raised and *sangharamas* built, which still exist. In this city also there are but few inhabitants; such families as there are, are connected with the resident congregation of priests. Going south-east twelve *yojanas*<sup>45</sup> from this place, we arrive at the spot where the Lichhavis, desiring to follow Buddha to the scene of his *Nirvana*, were forbidden to do so. On account of their affection for Buddha they were unwilling to go back, on which Buddha caused to appear between them and him a great and deeply-scaped river, which they could not cross. He then left with them his alms-bowl as a memorial, and exhorted them to return to their houses. On this they went back and erected a stone pillar, on which this account is engraved.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Fo-sho*, *Infra*. <sup>44</sup> Or does this refer to the Mallas throwing down their maces (hammers)? <sup>45</sup> Laidlay has by mistake translated the French S.W. instead of S.E. But the French editors have also mistranslated the distance, which is twelve *yojanas*, and not twenty. We have thus nineteen *yojanas* between Kusinagara (Kasia) and Vaisali (Besarh), which is as nearly correct as possible.

From this going five *yojanas* eastward, we arrive at the country of Vaisali.<sup>46</sup> To the north of the city of Vaisali there is the *vihara* of the greast forest,<sup>47</sup> which has a two-storied tower. This chapel was once occupied by Buddha. Here also is the tower which was built over half the body of *Ananda*. Within this city dwelt the lady *Amrapali*,<sup>48</sup> (who built) a tower for Buddha; the ruins still exist. Three li to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, is the garden which the lady *Amrapali* gave to Buddha as a resting-place. When Buddha was about to enter *Nirvana* accompanied by his disciples, he left Vaisali by the western gate, and turning his body to the right,<sup>49</sup> he beheld the city and thus addressed his followers: "In this place I have performed the last religious act of my earthly career." Men afterwards raised a tower on this spot. Three li to the north-west of the city is a tower called "the tower of the deposited bows and clubs." The origin of this name was as follows:<sup>50</sup> On one of the upper streams of the Ganges there was a certain country ruled by a king. One of his concubines gave birth to an unformed fœtus, whereupon the queen being jealous, said, "Your conception is one of bad omen." So they closed it up in a box of wood and cast it into the Ganges. Lower down the stream there was another king, who, taking a tour of observation, caught sight of the wooden box floating on the stream. On bringing it to shore and opening it, he found inside a thousand children very fair, well formed, and most unique. The king bereupon took them and brought them up. When they grew up they turned out to be very brave and warlike, and were victorious over all whom they went to attack. In process of time they marched against the kingdom of the monarch, their father, at which he was filled with consternation. On this his concubine asked the king why he was so terrified; to whom he replied, "The king of that country has a thousand sons, brave and warlike beyond compare, and they are coming to attack my country; this is why I am alarmed." To this the concubine replied, "Fear not! but erect on the east of the city a high tower, and when the rebels come, place me on it; I will restrain them." The king did so, and when the invaders arrived, the concubine addressed them from the tower, saying, "You are my children. Then why are you rebellious?" They replied, "Who are you

<sup>46</sup> Vaisali, a very famous city in the Buddhist records. Cunningham identifies it with the present Besarh, twenty miles north of Hajipur. <sup>47</sup> This chapel was situated in the neighbourhood of the present village of Bakhra, about two miles N.N.W. of Besarh. It is alluded to in the Singhalese records as the *Mahavāno Vihāro*. From Burnouf we find it was built by the side of a tank known as the *Markatahrada*, or Monkey tank (*Introd. Buddh. Indien*, p. 74), (*Man. Bud.*, p. 356). <sup>48</sup> Cf. *Fo-sho.*, *infra*. <sup>49</sup> Cf. *Fo-sho.*, v. 1930 and p. 3. <sup>50</sup> For another account of this tale see *Infra*.

that say you are our mother?" The concubine replied, "If ye will not believe me, all of you look up and open your mouths." On this the concubine, with both her hands, pressed her breasts, and from each breast proceeded five hundred jets of milk, which fell into the mouths of her thousand sons. On this the rebels, perceiving that she was indeed their mother, immediately laid down their bows and clubs. The two royal fathers, by a consideration of these circumstances, were able to arrive at the condition of Pratyeka Buddhas, and the tower erected in their honour remains to this day. In after times, when the Lord of the World arrived at supreme reason, he addressed his disciples in these words, "This is the place where I formerly laid aside my bow and my club." Men in after times, coming to know this, founded a tower in this place, and hence the name. The thousand children are in truth the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadrakalpa. Buddha, when standing beside this tower, addressed Ananda thus, "After three months I must enter *Nirvana*", on which occasion Mara-*raja* so fascinated the mind of Ananda that he did not request Buddha to remain in the world. Going east from this point three or four li there is a tower. One hundred years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha there were at Vaisali certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the *Vinaya* in ten particulars,<sup>51</sup> saying that Buddha had said it was so, at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collated the *Vinaya Pitaka* afresh. Afterwards men erected a tower on this spot, which still exists.

Going four *yojanas* east, we arrive at the confluence of the five rivers. When Ananda was going from the country of Magadha towards Vaisali, desiring to enter *Nirvana* the Devas acquainted King Ajatasatru of it. The king immediately set out after him at the head of his troops, and arrived at the banks of the river. The Lichchhavis of Vaisali, hearing that Ananda was coming, likewise set out to meet him and arrived at the side of the river. Ananda then reflected that if he were to advance, King Ajatasatru would be much grieved, and if he should go back, then the Lichchhavis would be indignant. Being perplexed, he forthwith entered the *Samadhi* called the "brilliancy of flame," consuming his body, and entered *Nirvana* in the midst of the river. His body was divided into two parts; one part was found on either side of the river; so the two kings, taking the relics of half his body, returned and erected towers over them.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> For an account of this council see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, Lect. ii. There is an expression *fan fu* after the words "orthodox Bhikshus" (rule-holding Bhikshus), which may either be enclitic, or mean "a mixed multitude."<sup>52</sup> For this account and generally about Vaisali, see *infra*.

giving an account of the successive events connected with Ni-li, with the corresponding year, day, and month.

From this city proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine *yojanas*, we arrive at a small solitary stone hill, on the top of which is a stone cell.<sup>53</sup> The stone cell faces the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in this cell, Sakra Deva, taking the divine musician Panchasikha,<sup>54</sup> caused him to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was. Then Sakra Deva proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, drawing some traces upon a stone with his finger. The remains of the structure and tracings yet exist. There is a *sangharama* built here. Going south-west from this one *yojana*, we arrive at the village of Kalapinaka (of Hiuen Tsiang). This was the place of Sariputra's birth. Sariputra returned here to enter *Nirvana*. A tower therefore was erected here, which is still in existence. Going west from this one *yojana*, we arrive at the new Rajagriha. This was the town which King Ajatasatru built. There are two *sangharamas* in it. Leaving this town by the west gate and proceeding 300 paces, (we arrive at) the tower which King Ajatasatru raised over the share of Buddha's relics which he obtained. Its height is very imposing. Leaving the south side of the city and proceeding southwards four li, we enter a valley situated between five hills. These hills encircle it completely like the walls of a town. This is the site of the old town of King Bimbisara. From east to west it is about five or six li, from north to south seven or eight li. Here Sariputra and Mudgalyayana first met Asvajit. Here also the Nirgrantha made a pit with fire in it, and poisoned the food which he invited Buddha to eat. Here also is the spot where King Ajatasatru, intoxicating a black elephant, desired to destroy Buddha.<sup>55</sup> To the north-east of the city, in a crooked defile, (*the physician*) Jivaka erected a *vihara* in the garden of Ambapali, and invited Buddha and his 1250 disciples to receive her religious offerings. The ruins still exist. Within the city all is desolate and without inhabitants.

Entering the valley and striking the mountains towards the south-east, ascending 15 li we arrive at the hill called Gridhrakuta. Three li from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in meditation. Thirty paces to the north-west is another stone cell in which Ananda practised meditation. The Deva Mara Pisuna, having assumed the form of a vulture, took his place before the cavern and terrified Ananda. Buddha by his spiritual power pierced the rock, and with his outstretched hand patted

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Some 300 paces north of the old town, on the west side of the road, is the Kalandavennvana *vihara*. It still exists, and a congregation of priests sweep and water it. Two or three li to the north of the chapel is the Shi-mo-she-na (Samasana), which signifies "the field of tombs for laying the dead." Striking the southern hill and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell called the Pippala cave, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in meditation after his mid-day meal. Still west five or six li there is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain and called Che-ti. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the *Nirvana* of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books. At the time when the books were recited three vacant seats were specially prepared and adorned. The one on the left was for Sariputra, the one on the right for Mudgalayana. The assembly was yet short of 500 by one Arhat; and already the great Kasyapa was ascending the throne when Ananda stood without the gate unable

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Formerly, when King Asoka was a lad,<sup>62</sup> playing on the road, he met Sakya Buddha going begging. The little boy, rejoiced at the chance, gave him a handful of earth as an offering. Buddha received it, and on his return sprinkled it on the ground where he took his exercise. In return for this act of charity the lad became an iron-wheel king and ruled over Jambudvīpa. On assuming the iron-wheel he was on a certain occasion going through Jambudvīpa on a tour of inspection, at which time he saw one of the places of torment for the punishment of wicked men situated between the two iron-circle mountains. He immediately asked his attendant ministers, "What is this place?" To this they replied and said, "This is the place where Yama-rajā, the infernal king, inflicts punishment on wicked men for their crimes." The king then began to reflect and said, "If the demon king, in the exercise of his function, requires to have a place of punishment for wicked men, why should not I, who rule men (*on earth*), have a place of punishment likewise for the guilty?" On this he asked his ministers, "Who is there that I can appoint to make for me a hell, and to exercise authority therein for the punishment of wicked men?" In reply they said, "None but a very wicked man can fulfil such an office." The king forthwith dispatched his ministers in every direction to seek for such a man. In the course of their search they saw, by the side of a running stream, a lusty great fellow of a black colour, with red hair and light eyes; with the talons of his feet he caught the fish, and when he whistled to the birds and beasts, they came to him; and as they approached he mercilessly shot them through, so that none escaped. Having caught this man, he was brought before the king. The king then gave him these secret orders, "You must enclose a square space with high walls, and with this enclosure plant every kind of flower and fruit (*tree*), and make beautiful alcoves, and arrange everything with such taste as to make people anxious to look within. Make a wide gate to it, and then when any one enters, seize him at once and subject him to every kind of torture. Let no one (*who has once entered*) ever go out again. And I strictly enjoin you, that if I even should enter, that you torture me also and spare not. Now, then, I appoint you lord of this place of torment!" It happened that a certain Bhikshu, as he was going his rounds begging for food, entered the gate. The infernal keeper seeing him, made preparations to put him to torture. The Bhikshu, being much frightened, suppliantly begged a moment's respite. "Permit me,

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at least, to partake of my mid-day meal," he said. It so happened that just then another man entered the place, on which the keeper directly seized him, and, putting him in a stone mortar, began to pound his body to atoms till a red froth formed. The Bhikshu having witnessed this spectacle, began to reflect on the impermanency, the sorrow, the vanity of bodily existence, that it is like a bubble and froth of the sea, and so he arrived at the condition of an Arhat. This having transpired, the infernal keeper laid hold of him and thrust him into a caldron of boiling water. The heart of the Bhikshu and his countenance were full of joy. The fire was extinguished and the water became cold, whilst in the middle of it there sprang up a lotus, on the top of which the Bhikshu took his seat. The keeper forthwith proceeded to the king and said, "A wonderful miracle has occurred in the place of torture; would that your majesty would come and see it." The king said, "I dare not come, in consideration of my former agreement with you." The keeper replied, "This matter is one of great moment: it is only right you should come; let us consider your former agreement changed." The king then directly followed him and entered the prison; on which the Bhikshu, for his sake, delivered a religious discourse, so that the king believed and was converted. Then he ordered the place of torture to be destroyed, and repented of all the evil he had formerly committed. From the time of his conversion he exceedingly honoured the three precious ones (*i. e.*, Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), and went continually to the spot underneath the Pei-to tree for the purpose of repentance, self-examination, and fasting. In consequence of this, the queen on one occasion asked, "Where does the king go so constantly?" The ministers replied, "He continually resides under the Pei-to tree." The queen hereupon, awaiting an opportunity when the king was not there, sent men to cut the tree down. The king repairing as usual to the spot, and seeing what had happened, was so overpowered with grief that he fell down senseless on the ground. The ministers, having his face with water, after a long time restored him to consciousness. Then the king piled up the earth on the four sides of the stump of the tree, and commanded the roots to be moistened with a hundred pitchers of milk. Then prostrating himself at full length on the ground, he made the following vow, "If the tree does not revive I will never rise up again." No sooner had he done this than the tree began to force up small branches from the root, and so it continued to grow until it arrived at its present height, which is somewhat less than 120 feet.

From this place going south three li, we arrive at a mountain called the Cock's-foot. The great Kasyapa is at present within this mountain. He divided the mountain at its base, so as to-

way ; but men of old reached it with one foot.<sup>65</sup> The reason why they name this building Po-lo-yu is from an Indian word signifying "pigeon." There are always Arhats abiding here. This land is barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages, but all of them are inhabited by heretics. They know nothing of the law of Buddha, or Sramanas, or Brabmanas, or of any of the different schools of learning. The men of that country continually see persons come flying to the temple. On a certain occasion there were some Buddhist pilgrims from different countries who came here to pay religious worship. Then the men of the villages above alluded to asked them, saying, "Why do you not fly? All the religious persons hereabouts that we see (*are able to*) fly." These men then answered by way of excuse, "Because our wings are not yet perfectly formed." The country of Dekhan<sup>66</sup> is precipitous and the roads dangerous. Those who wish to go there, even if they know the place, ought to give a present to the king of the country, either money or goods. The king then deputed certain men to accompany them as guides, and so they pass the travellers from one place to another, each party pointing out their own roads and intricate bypaths. Fa-Hian finding himself in the end unable to proceed to that country, reports in the above passages merely what he has heard.

From Banaras going eastward we arrive at the town of Pataliputra again. The purpose of Fa-hian was to seek for copies of the *Vinaya Pitaka* ; but throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy from. Wherefore Fa-Hian had come even so far as Mid-India. But here in the *sangharama* of the Great Vehicle he obtained one collection of the precepts, viz., the collection used by the Mahasanghika assembly. This was that used by the first great assembly of priests during Buddha's lifetime. It is reported that this was the one used in the Jetavana *vihara*. Except that the eighteen sects have each their own private rules of conduct,<sup>67</sup> they are agreed in essentials. In some minor details they differ, as well as in a more or less exact attention to matters of practice. But the collection (*of this sect*) is regarded as the most correct and complete. Moreover, he obtained one copy of precepts from dictation, comprising about 7000 *gathas*. This version was that used by the assembly belonging to the school of the Sarvastivadas ; the same, in fact, as is generally used in China. The masters of this school also hand down the precepts by word of mouth, and do not commit them to writing. Moreover, in this

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at least, to partake of my mid-day meal," he said. It so happened that just then another man entered the place, on which the keeper directly seized him, and, putting him in a stone mortar, began to pound his body to atoms till a red froth formed. The Bhikshu having witnessed this spectacle, began to reflect on the impermanency, the sorrow, the vanity of bodily existence, that it is like a bubble and froth of the sea, and so he arrived at the condition of an Arhat. This having transpired, the infernal keeper laid hold of him and thrust him into a caldron of boiling water. The heart of the Bhikshu and his countenance were full of joy. The fire was extinguished and the water became cold, whilst in the middle of it there sprang up a lotus, on the top of which the Bhikshu took his seat. The keeper forthwith proceeded to the king and said, "A wonderful miracle has occurred in the place of torture; would that your majesty would come and see it." The king said, "I dare not come, in consideration of my former agreement with you." The keeper replied, "This matter is one of great moment: it is only right you should come; let us consider your former agreement changed." The king then directly followed him and entered the prison; on which the Bhikshu, for his sake, delivered a religious discourse, so that the king believed and was converted. Then he ordered the place of torture to be destroyed, and repented of all the evil he had formerly committed. From the time of his conversion he exceedingly honoured the three precious ones (*i. e.*, Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), and went continually to the spot underneath the Pei-to tree for the purpose of repentance, self-examination, and fasting. In consequence of this, the queen on one occasion asked, "Where does the king go so constantly?" The ministers replied, "He continually resides under the Pei-to tree." The queen hereupon, awaiting an opportunity when the king was not there, sent men to cut the tree down. The king repairing as usual to the spot, and seeing what had happened, was so overpowered with grief that he fell down senseless on the ground. The ministers, bathing his face with water, after a long time restored him to consciousness. Then the king piled up the earth on the four sides of the stump of the tree, and commanded the roots to be moistened with a hundred pitchers of milk. Then prostrating himself at full length on the ground, he made the following vow, "If the tree does not revive I will never rise up again." No sooner had he done this than the tree began to force up small branches from the root, and so it continued to grow until it arrived at its present height, which is somewhat less than 120 feet.

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Following down the river Ganges in an easterly direction for eighteen *yojanas*, we come to the great kingdom of Champa\* on its southern shore. In the place where Buddha once dwelt, and where he moved to and fro for exercise, also where the four previous Buddhas sat down, in all these places towers have been erected, and there are still resident priests. From this continuing to go eastward nearly fifty *yojanas*, we arrive at the kingdom of Tamralipti. This is at the sea-mouth. There are twenty-four *sangharamas* in this country; all of them have resident priests, and the law of Buddha is generally respected. Fa-Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books (*sutras*) and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the country of the lions (Simhala, Ceylon). Men of that country (Tamralipti) say that the distance between the two is about 700 *yojanas*. This kingdom (*of lions*) is situated on a great island. From east to west it is fifty *yojanas*, and from north to south thirty *yojanas*. On every side of it are small islands, perhaps amounting to a hundred in number. They are distant from one another ten or twenty li and as much as 200 li. All of them depend on the great island. Most of them produce precious stones and pearls. The *mani-gem* is also found in

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(to the appointed place), and, according to the measure of the bowls, fill them and return. They always bring out the tooth of Buddha in the middle of the third month. Ten days beforehand, the king magnificently caparisons a great elephant, and commissions a man of eloquence and ability to clothe himself in royal apparel, and, riding on the elephant, to sound a drum and proclaim as follows: "Bodhisattva during three *Asankhyeya kalpas* underwent every kind of austerity; he spared himself no personal sufferings; he left his country, wife, and child; moreover he tore out his eyes to bestow them on another, he mangled his flesh to deliver a dove (from the hawk), he sacrificed his head in alms, he gave his body to a famishing tiger, he grudged not his marrow or brain. Thus he endured every sort of agony for the sake of all flesh. Moreover, when he became perfect Buddha, he lived in the world forty-nine years preaching the law and teaching and converting men. He gave rest to the wretched, he saved the lost. Having passed through countless births, he then entered *Nirvana*. Since that event is 1497 years. The eyes of the world were then put out, and all flesh deeply grieved. After ten days the tooth of (this same) Buddha will be brought forth and taken to the *Abhayagiri vihara*. Let all ecclesiastical and lay persons within the kingdom, who wish to lay up a store of merit, prepare and smooth the roads, adorn the streets and highways; let them scatter every kind of flower, and offer incense in religious reverence to the relic." This proclamation being finished, the king next causes to be placed on both sides of the procession-road representations of the five hundred bodily forms which Bodhisattva assumed during his successive births. For instance, his birth as *Sudana*;\*\* his appearance as *Sama*; his birth as the king of the elephants, and as an antelope. These figures are all beautifully painted in divers colours and have a very life-like appearance. At length the tooth of Buddha is brought forth and conducted along the principal road. As they proceed on the way, religious offerings are made to it. When they arrive at the *Abhaya vihara* they place it in the Hall of Buddha, where the clergy and laity all assemble in vast crowds and burn incense, and light lamps, and perform every kind of religious ceremony, both night and day, without ceasing. After ninety complete days they again return it to the *vihara* within the city. This chapel is thrown open on fast days for the purpose of religious worship, as the law (of Buddha) directs. Forty li to the east of the *Abhaya vihara* is a mountain, on which is built a chapel called *Bodhi*\*; there are about 2000 priests in it. Amongst them is a very distinguished Shaman called *Dharmakoti* or *Dharmagupta*.† The people of this

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country greatly respect and reverence him. He resides in a cell, where he has lived for about forty years. By the constant practice of benevolence he has been able to tame the serpents and mice, so that they stop together in one cell, and do not hurt one another.

Seven li to the south of the capital is a chapel called Mahavihara, in which there are 3000 priests. Amongst them was a very eminent Sramana, whose life was so pure that the men of the country generally gave him credit for being an Arhat. At the time of his approaching death, the king, having come to inspect and inquire, according to the custom of the law, assembled the priests and asked the Bhikshu, "Hast thou attained reason?" On which he made reply in truth, "I am an Arhat." After his death, the king immediately examined the sacred books, with a view to perform the funeral obsequies according to the rules for such as are Arhats. Accordingly, about four or five li to the east of the *vihara* they raised a very great pyre of wood, about 34 feet square and of the same height. Near the top they placed tiers of sandal-wood, aloe, and all kinds of scented wood. On the four sides they constructed steps. Then, taking some clean and very white camlet cloth, they bound it around and above the pyre. They then constructed above a funeral carriage, like the hearses used in this country, except that there are no dragon-ear handles (cf. *ting urh*). Then, at the time of the cremation (*dava*), the king, accompanied by the four classes of the people, assembled in great numbers, came to the spot provided with flowers and incense for religious offerings, and followed the hearse till it arrived at the place of the funeral ceremony. The king, then, in his own person, offered religious worship with flowers and incense. This being over, the hearse was placed on the pyre, and oil of cinnamon poured over it in all directions. Then they set light to the whole. At the time of kindling the fire, the whole assembly occupied their minds with solemn thoughts. Then removing their upper garments, and taking their wing-like fans, which they use as sun-shades, and approaching as near as possible to the pyre, they flung them into the midst of the fire in order to assist the cremation. When all was over, they diligently searched for the bones and collected them together, in order to raise a tower over them. Fa-Hian did not arrive in time to see this celebrated person alive, but only to witness his funeral obsequies. At this time, the king, being an earnest believer in the law of Buddha, desired to build a new *vihara* for this congregation of priests. First of all he provided for them a great feast, after which he selected a pair of strong working oxen and ornamented their horns with gold, silver, and precious things. Then providing himself with a beautiful

gilded plough, the king himself ploughed round the four sides of the allotted space ;<sup>70</sup> after which, ceding all personal right over the land, houses, or people within the area thus enclosed, he presented (*the whole to the priests*). Then he caused to be engraved on a metal plate (*the following inscription*) : "From this time and for all generations hereafter, let this property be handed down from one (*body of priests*) to the other, and let no one dare to alienate it, or change (*the character of*) the grant." When Fa-Hian was residing in this country, he heard a religious brother from India, seated on a high throne, reciting a sacred book and saying, "The Patra (*alms-bowl*) of Buddha originally was preserved in Vaisali, but now it is in the borders of Gandhara. After an uncertain period of years [Fa-Hian, at the time of the recital, heard the exact number of years, but he has now forgotten it], it will go on to the country of the western Yu-chi. After another period it will go to the country of Khotan. After a similar period it will be transported to Kouche. In about the same period it will come back to the land of Han ; after the same period it will return to the land of lions (Simhala, Ceylon) ; after the same period it will return to Mid-India ; after which it will be taken up into the Tushta heaven. The Maitreya Bodhisattva will exclaim with a sigh, 'The alms-dish of Sakyamuni Buddha has come.' Then all the Devas will pay religious worship to it with flowers and incense for seven days. After this it will return to Jambudvipa, and a sea-dragon, taking it, will carry it within his palace, awaiting till Maitreya is about to arrive at complete wisdom, at which time the bowl, again dividing itself into four as it was at first, will re-ascend the Pin-na<sup>71</sup> mountain. After Maitreya has arrived at supreme wisdom, the four heavenly Kings will once more come and respectfully salute him as Buddha, after the same manner as they have done to the former Buddhas. The thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa will all of them use this same alms-dish ; when the bowl has disappeared, then the law of Buddha will gradually perish ; after which the years of man's life will begin to contract until it be no more than five years in duration. At the time of its being ten years in length, rice and butter will disappear from the world, and men will become extremely wicked. The sticks they grasp will then transform themselves into knives and clubs, with which they will attack one another, and wound and kill each other. In the midst of this, men who have acquired religious merit will escape and seek refuge in the mountains ; and when the wicked have finished the work of mutual destruction, they will come from their hiding-

<sup>70</sup> A king, or 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

<sup>71</sup> In some places this is written An-na, as though for (Sum)ana.

places, and will converse together and say, 'Men of old lived to a very advanced age, but now, because wicked men have indulged without restraint in every transgression of the law, our years have dwindled down to their present short span, even to the space of ten years. Now, therefore, let us practise every kind of good deed, encouraging within ourselves a kind and loving spirit; let us enter on a course of virtue and righteousness.' Thus, as each one practises faith and justice, their years will begin to increase in double ratio till they reach 80,000 years of life. At the time when Maitreya is born, when he first begins to declare his doctrine (turn the wheel of the law), his earliest converts will be the followers of the bequeathed law of Sakya Buddha, those who have forsaken their families, those who have sought refuge in the three sacred names, those who have kept the five great commandments, and attended to their religious duties in making continued offerings to the three precious objects of worship. His second and third body of converts shall be those who, by their previous conduct, have put themselves in a condition for salvation." Fa-Hian, on hearing this discourse, wished to copy it down, on which the man said, "This has no Scripture-original; I only repeat by word of mouth (*what I have learned*)."

Fa-Hian resided in this country for two years. Continuing his search, he obtained a copy of the *Vinaya Pitaka* according to the school of the Mahisasakas. He also obtained a copy of the Great *Agama* (*Dirghagama*), and of the Miscellaneous *Agama* (*Samyuktagama*), and also a collection of the Miscellaneous *Pitaka* (*Sannipata*). All these were hitherto unknown in the land of Han. Having obtained these works in the original language (*Fan*), he forthwith shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men. Astern of the great ship was a smaller one, in case the larger vessel should be injured or wrecked. Having got a fair wind, they sailed eastward for two days, when suddenly a tempest (*typhoon*) arose, and the ship sprung a leak. The merchants then desired to haul up the smaller vessel, but the crew of that ship, fearing that a crowd of men would rush into her and sink her, cut the towing cable and she fell off. The merchantmen were greatly terrified, expecting their death momentarily. Then dreading lest the leak should gain upon them, they forthwith took their heavy goods and merchandise and cast them overboard. Fa-Hian also flung overboard his water-pitcher (*kundika*) and his washing-basin, and also other portions of his property. He was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images. And so with earnestness of heart he invoked Avalokitesvara, and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints (*the priesthood*) of the land of Han, speaking thus: "I

indeed have wandered far and wide in search of the law. Oh, bring me back again, by your spiritual power, to reach some resting-place." And so the hurricane blew on for thirteen days and nights; they then arrived at the shore of a small island, and on the tide going out they found the place of the leak. Having forthwith stopped it up, they again put to sea on their onward voyage. In this ocean there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. If it is dark, rainy weather, the only plan is to steer by the wind without guide. During the darkness of night we only see the great waves beating one against the other and shining like fire, whilst shoals of sea-monsters of every description (*surround the ship*). The merchants, perplexed, knew not towards what land they were steering. The sea was bottomless and no soundings could be found, so that there was no chance of anchoring. At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards; but if (*during the bad weather*) they had happened to have struck on a hidden rock there could have been no escape. Thus they voyaged for ninety days and more, when they arrived at a country called (Java,\* or, perhaps, Sumatra). In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known. Stopping here the best portion of five months, Fa-Hian again embarked on board another merchant vessel, having also a crew of two hundred men or so. They took with them fifty days' provisions, and set sail on the 16th day of the fourth month. Fa-Hian kept his "rest" on board this ship. They shaped a course north-east for Kwang-chow. After a month and some days, when sounding the middle watch of the night, a black squall suddenly came on, accompanied with pelting rain. The merchantmen and passengers were all terrified. Fa-Hian at this time also, with great earnestness of mind, again entreated Avalokitesvara and all the priesthood of China to exert their divine power in their favour, and protect them till daylight.<sup>72</sup> When the day broke, all the Brahmans, consulting together, said, "It is because we have got this Sramana on board we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief. Come, let us land this Bhikshu on any island we meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." The religious patron (*Danapati*) of Fa-Hian then said, "If you land this Bhikshu, you shall also land me with him; and if not, you had better kill me: for if you put this Sramana on shore, then, when I arrive in China, I will go

\* Ye-po-ti. <sup>72</sup> Cf. *rakhoito nmeran genesthai* Acts xxiii. 29.

straight to the king and report you ; and the king of that country is a firm believer in the law of Buddha, and greatly honours the Bhikshus and priests." The merchantmen on this hesitated, and (*in the end*) did not dare to land him. The weather continuing very dark, the pilot's observations were perversely wrong.<sup>73</sup> Nearly seventy days had now elapsed. The rice for food and the water for congee were nearly all done. They had to use salt water for cooking, whilst they gave out to every man about two pints of fresh water. And now, when this was just exhausted, the merchants held a conversation and said, "The proper time for the voyage to Kwaug-Chow is about fifty days, but now we have exceeded that time these many days—shall we be perverse ?" On this they put the ship on a north-west course to look for land. After twelve days' continuous sailing they arrived at the southern coast of Lau-Shan which borders on the prefecture of Chang-Kwang. They then obtained good fresh water and vegetables ; and so, after passing through so many dangers and difficulties and such a succession of anxious days, (*the pilgrim*) suddenly arrived at this shore. On seeing the Li-ho vegetable (*a sort of reed*), he was confident that this was indeed the land of Han. But not seeing any men or traces of life, they knew not what place it was. Some said they had not yet arrived at Kwang-chow, others maintained they had passed it. In their uncertainty, therefore, they put off in a little boat, and entered a creek to look for some one to ask where they were. Meeting with two hunters, they got them to go back with them, making Fa-Hian interpret their words and question them. Fa-Hian having first tried to inspire them with confidence, then leisurely asked them, "What men are you ?" They replied, "We are disciples of Buddha." Then he asked, "What do you look for in these mountains here ?" They prevaricated, and said, "To-morrow is the 15th day of the seventh month, and we were anxious to catch something to sacrifice to Buddha." Again he asked, "What country is this ?" They replied, "This is Tsing-Chow, on the borders of the prefecture of Chang-Kwang, dependent on the house of Liu." Having heard this, the merchants were very glad, and immediately begging that their goods might be landed, they deputed men to go with them to Chang-Kwang. The prefect, Li-I, who was a faithful follower of the law of Buddha, hearing that there was Sramana arrived with sacred books and images in a ship from beyond the seas, immediately proceeded to the shore with his followers to escort the books and sacred figures to the seat of his government. After this the merchants returned towards Yang-Chow. Mean-

<sup>73</sup> That is, he was perverse in following his wrong observations, or calculations.



while Liu arriving at Tsing-Chow,<sup>74</sup> entertained Fa-Hian for the whole winter and summer. The summer period of rest being over, Fa-Hian, removed from the society of his fellow-priests for so long, was anxious to get back to Chang'an. But as his plans were important, he directed his course first towards the southern capital. Having met the priests, he exhibited the sacred books he had brought back.

Fa-Hian, leaving Chang'an, was six years in arriving at Mid-India. He resided there during six years, and was three years more before he arrived at Tsing-Chow. He had successively passed through nearly thirty different countries. In all the countries of India, after passing the sandy desert, the dignified carriage of the priesthood and the surprising influence of religion cannot be adequately described. But because our learned doctors had not heard of these things, he was induced, regardless of personal risk, to cross the seas, and to encounter every kind of danger in returning home. Having been preserved by divine power (*by the three honourable ones*), and brought through all dangers safely, he was further induced to commit to writing these records of his travels, desiring that honourable readers might be informed of them as well as himself.

<sup>74</sup> *Fa* for *chl* (?).

THE MISSION  
OF  
SUNG-YUN<sup>1</sup> AND HWEI SANG  
TO OBTAIN  
BUDDHIST BOOK IN THE WEST<sup>2</sup> (518 A.D.)

[Translated from the 5th Section of the History of the  
Temples of Lo-Yang (Honan Fu)]

IN the suburb Wen-I, to the north-east of the city of Lo-Yang, was the dwelling of Sung-Yun of Tun-hwang,<sup>3</sup> who, in company with the Bhikshu Hwei Sang, was sent on an embassy to the western countries by the Empress Dowager (Tai-Hau) of the Great Wei dynasty<sup>4</sup> to obtain Buddhist books. This occurred in the eleventh month of the first year of the period *Shen kwei* (517-518 A.D.) They procured altogether 170 volumes, all standard works, belonging to the Great Vehicle.

First of all, having repaired to the capital, they proceeded in a westerly direction forty days, and arrived at the Chih-Ling (Barren Ridge), which is the western frontier of the country. On this ridge is the fortified outpost of the Wei territory. The Chih-Ling produces no trees or shrubs, and hence its name (*Barren*). Here is the common resort (*cave*) of the rat-bird. These two animals being of different species (*chung*), but the same genus (*hui*), live and breed together. The bird is the male, the rat the female. From their cohabiting in this manner, the name rat-bird cave is derived.

Ascending the Chih-ling and proceeding westward twenty-three days, having crossed the Drifting Sands, they arrived at the country of the Tuh-kiueh-'hun.<sup>5</sup> Along the road the cold was very severe, whilst the high winds, and the driving snow, and the pelting sand and gravel were so bad, that it was impossible to raise one's eyes without getting them filled. The chief city of the Tuh-kiueh-'hun and the neighbourhood is

<sup>1</sup> Called by Remusat Sung-Yun tse (*Fa-hian*, cap. viii. n. 1); but the word "tse" is no component part of the name. The passage in the original is this: "In the Wan-I suberb (*li*) is the house (*tse*) of Sun Yun of Tun-hwang."

<sup>2</sup> Western countries (*si yu*).

<sup>3</sup> Tun-hwang, situated on a branch of the Bulunghir river.

<sup>4</sup> At the fall of the Tsin dynasty (420 A.D.), the northern provinces of China became the possession of a powerful Tartar tribe known as the Wei. A native dynasty (the Southern Sung) ruled in the southern provinces, and has been regarded by subsequent writers as the legitimate one (Edkins).

<sup>5</sup> The Eastern Turks. The 'Hun were a southern horde of the 'Tieh lei Turks. Vide Doolittle's *Vocab. and Handbook*, vol. ii. p. 206.

agreeably warm. The written character of this country is nearly the same as that of the Wei. The customs and regulations observed by these people are mostly barbarous in character (after the rules of the outside barbarians or foreigners). From this country going west 3500 li, we arrive at the city of Shen-Shen.<sup>a</sup> This city, from the time it set up a king, was seized by the Tuh-kiueh-hun, and at present there resides in it a military officer (the second general) for subjugating (pacifying) the west. The entire cantonment<sup>7</sup> amounts to 3000 men, who are employed in withstanding the western Hu.

From Shen-Shen going west 1640 li, we arrive at the city of Tso-moh.<sup>8</sup> In this town there are, perhaps, a hundred families resident. The country is not visited with rain, but they irrigate their crops from the streams of water. They know not the use of oxen or ploughs in their husbandry.

In the town is a representation of Buddha with a Bodhisattva, but certainly not in face like a Tartar. On questioning an old man about it, he said, "This was done by Lu-Kwong, who subdued the Tartars." From this city going westward 1275 li, we arrive at the city of Moh. The flowers and fruits here are just like those of Lo-Yang, but the native buildings and the foreign officials are different in appearance.

From the city Moh going west 22 li, we arrive at the city of Han-mo.<sup>9</sup> Fifteen li to the south of this city is a large temple, with about 300 priests in it. These priests possess a golden full-length figure of Buddha, in height a *chang* and  $\frac{7}{10}$ ths (about 18 feet). Its appearance is very imposing, and all the characteristic marks of the body are bright and distinct. Its face was placed repeatedly looking eastward; but the figure, not approving of that, turned about and looked to the west. The old men have the following tradition respecting this figure: They say that originally it came from the south transporting itself through the air. The king of Khotan himself seeing it, paid it worship, and attempted to convey it to his city, but in the middle of the route, when they halted at night the figure suddenly disappeared. On dispatching men to look after it, they found it had returned to its old place. Immediately,

<sup>a</sup> Shen-shen or Leu-lan (Beal's *Bud. Pilg.*, p. 4, n.) probably the Charchan of Marco Polo; Mayers (*Manual*, 536) places it near Pidjan; but for remarks on its situation *vide* Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 179, n. I; vol. ii, p. 475; *vide* also Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, Remarks by Baron Richtopen, p. 144, &c.

<sup>7</sup> *P'u lo* [ bulak ? ].

<sup>8</sup> Probably the Ni-mo of Hiuen Tsiang.

<sup>9</sup> This is probably the Pi-mo of Hiuen Tsiang (Pein, iii. 243), the Pein of Marco Polo. The figure described in the text is also alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang, and is identified with the sandal-wood image of Udyana, king of Kausambi.

therefore, (the king) raised a tower, and appointed 400 attendants to sweep and water (the tower). If any of these servitors receive a hurt of any kind, they place some gold leaf on this figure according to the injured part, and so are directly cured. Men in after ages built towers around this image of 18 feet, and the other image-towers, all of which are ornamented with many thousand flags and streamers of variegated silk. There are perhaps as many as 10,000 of these, and more than half of them belonging to the Wei country.<sup>10</sup> Over the flags are inscriptions in the square character, recording the several dates when they were presented; the greater number are of the nineteenth year of *T'ai Ho*, the second year of King Maing, and the second year of Yen Chang.<sup>11</sup> There was only one flag with the name of the reigning monarch on it, and this was a flag of the period *Yaou Tsin* (A.D. 406).

From the town of Han-Mo going west 878 li, we arrive at the country of Khotan. The king of this country wears a golden cap on his head, in shape like the comb of a cock; the appendages of the head-dress hang down behind him two feet, and they are made of taffeta (*kun*), about five inches wide. On state occasions, for the purpose of imposing effect, there is music performed, consisting of drums, horns, and golden cymbals. The king is also attended by one chief bowman, two spearmen, five halberdiers, and, on his right and left, swordsmen, not exceeding a hundred men. The poorer sort of women here wear trousers, and ride on horseback just as well as their husbands. They burn their dead, and, collecting the ashes, erect towers (*fau t'u*) over them. In token of mourning they cut their hair and disfigure their faces, as though with grief. Their hair is cut to a length of four inches, and kept so all round. When the king dies, they do not burn his body, but enclose it in a coffin and carry it far off and bury it in the desert. They found a temple to his memory, and at proper times, pay religious service to his manes.

The king of Khotan<sup>12</sup> was no believer in the law of Buddha. A certain foreign merchantman on a time brought a Bhikshu

<sup>10</sup> That is, were presented by sovereigns of the Wei dynasty, or during their reign.

<sup>11</sup> The period *T'ai Ho* began 477 A.D. and ended 500 A.D., so that there could be no nineteenth year of this period: either the text is faulty or it may possibly refer to the nineteenth year of the reign of Hiao Wen Ti, which would be 490 A.D. The other dates named correspond to 502 A.D. and 514 A.D.

<sup>12</sup> One hundred and sixty-five years after the establishment of the kingdom of Li-yul (Khotan), the King Vijayasambhava, son of Yeula, ascended the throne, and in the fifth year of his reign the dharma was first introduced into Li-yul (Rockhill).

called Vairochana\* to this neighbourhood, and located him under a plum-tree to the south of this city. On this an informer approached the king and said, "A strange Sramana has come (*to your majesty's dominions*) without permission, and is now residing to the south of the city under the plum-tree." The king, hearing this, was angry, and forthwith went to see Vairochana. The Bhikshu then addressed the king as follows: "Tathagata† has commissioned me to come here to request your majesty to build for him a perfectly finished pagoda (*lit. a pagoda with a surmounting spire or dish*), and thus secure to yourself perpetual felicity." The king said, "Let me see Buddha, and then I will obey him." Vairochana then sounded a gong;‡ on which Buddha commissioned Rahula to assume his appearance, and manifest himself in his true likeness in the air. The king prostrated himself on the ground in adoration, and at once made arrangements for founding a temple and *vihara* under the tree. Then he caused to be carved a figure of Rahula; and, lest suddenly it should perish, the king afterwards constructed a chapel for its special preservation. At present it is carefully protected by a sort of shade (*jar*) that covers it; but, notwithstanding this, the shadow of the figure constantly removes itself outside the building, so that those who behold it cannot help paying it religious service (*by circumambulating it*). In this place (*or chapel*) are the shoes of a Pratyeka Buddha, which have up to the present time resisted decay. They are made neither of leather or silk,—in fact, it is impossible to determine what the material is. The extreme limits of the kingdom of Khotan reach about 3000 li or so from east to west.

In the second year of Shan Kwai (519 A.D.) and the 7th month, 29th day, we entered the kingdom of Chakuka—Yerkiang.† The people of that country are mountain-dwellers. The five kinds of cereals grow in abundance. In eating these, they make them into cakes. They do not permit the slaughter of animals, and such of them as eat flesh only use that which dies of itself. The customs and spoken language are like those of the people of Khotan, but the written character in use is that of the Brahmans. The limits of this country can be traversed in about five days.

During the first decade of the 8th month we entered the limits of the country of Han-Pan-to (Kahhanda),‡ and going

\* Pi-lu-shan.

† Ju-lai.

‡ The expression in the original implies the use of some magical influence to constrain Buddha to send Rahula.

† Chu-ku-po.

‡ Kahhanda is identified by Yule with Sarikkul and Tash Kurghan.

west six days, we ascended the Tsung-ling mountains ; advancing yet three days to the west, we arrived at the city of Kiueh-Yu ;<sup>15</sup> and after three days more, to the Puh-ho-i mountains.<sup>16</sup> This spot is extremely cold. The snow accumulates both by winter and summer. In the midst of the mountain is a lake in which dwells a mischievous dragon. Formerly there was a merchant who halted at night by the side of the lake. The dragon just then happened to be very cross, and forthwith pronounced a spell and killed the merchant. The king of Kavandha or, Kabhanda or, Sarikkul<sup>17</sup> hearing of it, gave up the succession to his son, and went to the kingdom of Udyana (in Northern India)<sup>18</sup> to acquire knowledge of the spells used by the Brahmans. After four years, having procured these secrets, he came back to his throne, and, ensconced by the lake, he enchanted the dragon, and, lo ! the dragon was changed into a man, who, deeply sensible of his wickedness, approached the king. The king immediately banished him from the Tsung-ling mountains more than 1000 li from the lake. The king of the present time is of the thirteenth generation (*from these events*). From this spot westward the road is one continuous ascent of the most precipitous character ; for a thousand li there are overhanging crags, 10,000 fathoms high, towering up to the very heavens. Compared with this road, the ruggedness of the great pass known as the Mang-men is as nothing, and the eminences of the celebrated Hian mountains (*in Honan*) are like level country. After entering the Tsung-ling mountains, step by step, we crept upwards for four days, and then reached the highest part of the range. From this point as a centre, looking downwards, it seems just as though one was poised in mid-air. The kingdom of Han-pan-to stretches as far as the crest of these mountains.<sup>19</sup> Men say that this is the middle point of heaven and earth. The people of this region use the water of the rivers for irrigating their lands ; and when they were told that in the middle country (*China*) the fields were watered by the rain, they laughed and said, "How could heaven provide enough for all ?" To the eastward of the capital of this country there is a rapid river<sup>20</sup> (or a river, Mang-tsin) flowing to the northeast towards Kashgar.<sup>21</sup> The high lands of the Tsung-ling mountains do not produce trees or shrubs. At this time,

<sup>15</sup> Or, Kong-yu. <sup>16</sup> This phrase Puh-ho-i may also be translated the "Untrustworthy Mountains" <sup>17</sup> Pan-to. <sup>18</sup> U-chang. <sup>19</sup> Ye-tha.

<sup>20</sup> To the west of the Tsung-ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward, and enter the sea (*Ch. Ed.*) <sup>21</sup> That is, perhaps, the Kara-Sou of Klapproth, which flows into the Tiz-ab, an affluent of the Yerklang river ; or it may be the Si-to siver, on which Yarkand stands, and which empties itself into Lake Lob, in the Sandy Desert. <sup>22</sup> Sha-leh, perhaps for Su-leh, i.e., Kashgar.

viz., the 8th month, the air is icy cold, and the north wind carries along with it the drifting snow for a thousand li. At last, in the middle decade of the 9th month, we entered the kingdom of Poh-ho (Bolor?). The mountains here are as lofty and the gorges deep as ever. The king of the country has built a town, where he resides, for the sake of being in the mountains. The people of the country dress handsomely, only they use some leathern garments. The laod is extremely cold—so much so, that the people occupy the caves of the mountains as dwelling-places, and the driving wind and snow often compel both men and beasts to herd together. To the south of this country are the great Soowy Mountains, which, in the morning and evening vapours, rise up like gem-spires.

In the first decade of the 10th month we arrived at the country of the Ephthalites.\* The lands of this country are abundantly watered by the mountain streams, which fertilise them, and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people also use felt garments. The course of the rivers is marked by the verdant shrubs. In the summer the people seek the cool of the mountains; in the winter they disperse themselves through the villages. They have no written character. Their rules of politeness are very defective. They have no knowledge at all of the movements of the heavenly bodies; and, in measuring the year, they have no intercalary month, or any long and short months; but they merely divide the year into twelve parts, and that is all. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations: on the south as far as Tieh-lo;<sup>22</sup> on the north, the entire country of Lae-leh,<sup>23</sup> eastward to Khotan, and west to Persia—more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround with a sort of rug hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is supported by four golden phoenix birds. When the ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty were presented, (*the king*), after repeated prostrations, received their letters of instruction. On entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over, they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music visible at all. The royal ladies of the Ye-tha<sup>24</sup> country

\* Ye-tha.

<sup>22</sup> This may possibly be Tirabhukti, the present Tirhut.

<sup>23</sup> The La-la or Lara people occupied Malava or Valabhi.

<sup>24</sup> The Ye-tha were probably the White Huns, or Ephthalites.

also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet<sup>25</sup> and more, three feet of its length being red coral. This they ornamented with all sorts of gay colours, and such is their head-dress. When the royal ladies go abroad, then they are carried; when at home, then they seat themselves on a gilded couch, which is made (*from the ivory of ?*) a six-tusked white elephant, with four lions (*for supporters*).<sup>26</sup> Except in this particular, the wives of the great ministers are like the royal ladies, they in like manner cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. They use the seven precious substances, which all the neighbouring countries bring as tribute, and gems in great abundance. It is reckoned that the distance of the country of the Ye-tha from our capital is upwards of 20,000 li.

On the first decade of the 11th month we entered the confines of the country of Persia,<sup>27</sup> This territory (*ground*) is very contracted. Seven days farther on we come to a people who dwell in the mountains and are exceedingly impoverished. Their manners are rough and ill-favoured. On seeing their king, they pay him no honour; and when the king goes out or comes in, his attendants are few. This country has a river which formerly was very shallow; but afterwards, the mountains having subsided, the course of the stream was altered and two lakes were formed. A mischievous dragon took up his residence here and caused many calamities. In the summer he rejoiced to dry up the rain, and in the winter to pile up the snow. Travellers by his influence are subjected to all sorts of inconveniences. The snow is so brilliant that it dazzles the sight; men have to cover their eyes, or they would be blinded by it; but if they pay some religious service to the dragon, they find less difficulty afterwards.

<sup>25</sup> I see no other way of translating this passage, although it seems puzzling to know how these royal ladies could carry such an ornament as this upon their heads.

<sup>26</sup> Literally the passage is, "They make the seat from a six-tusked white elephant and four lions." <sup>27</sup> Po-ssé. The name of Persia or Eastern Persia extended at this time even to the base of the Tsung-ling mountains (*vide* Elphinstone's *India*). The Parthians assumed the Persian name and affected Persian manners, "*diasuzonsi Kai apominourtai ta Persika ouk aziountes emoi dokel Parthiaioi nomizesthai Persai de einai pros poioumenoi*", says the Emperor Julian (*Or. de Constantin.*, *gest.* ii, p. 63, Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 534 n.)



In the middle decade of 11th mounth we entered the country of Shie-Mi (Sambi ?). This country is just beyond the Tsung-ling mountains. The aspect of the land is still rugged; the people are very poor; the rugged narrow road is dangerous—a traveller and his horse can hardly pass along it one at a time. From the country of Bolor\* to the country of Udyana† they use iron chains for bridges. These are suspended in the air for the purpose of crossing (over the mountain chasms). On looking downwards no bottom can be perceived; there is nothing on the side to grasp at in case of a slip, but in a moment the body is hurled down 10,000 fathoms. On this account travellers will not cross over in case of high winds.

On the first decade of the 12th month we entered the country of Udyana. On the north this county borders on the Tsung-ling mountains; on the south it joins India. The climate is agreeably warm. The territory contains several thousand li.<sup>28</sup> The people and productions are very abundant. The fertility of the soil is equal to that of the plateau of Lin-tsze<sup>29</sup> in China and the climate more equable. This is the place where Vessantara<sup>30</sup> gave his child as alms, and where Bodhisattva gave his body (to the tigress). Though these old stories relate to things so distant, yet they are preserved among the local legends (?). The king of the country religiously observes a vegetable diet; on the great fast-days he pays adoration to Buddha, both morning and evening, with sound of drum, conch, *vina* (a sort of lute), flute, and all kinds of wind instruments. After mid-day he devotes himself to the affairs of government. Supposing a man has committed murder, they do not suffer him to be killed; they only banish him to the desert mountains, affording him just food enough to keep him alive (lit. a bit and a sup). In investigating doubtful cases,<sup>31</sup> they rely on the pure or foul effect of drastic medicines; then, after examination, the punishment is adjusted according to the circumstances. At the proper time they let the streams overflow the land, by which the soil is rendered loamy and fertile. All provisions necessary for man are very abundant, cereals of every kind (lit. of a hundred sorts) flourish, and the different fruits (lit. the five fruits) ripen in great numbers. In the evening the sound of the (convent) bells may be heard on every side, filling the air (world); the earth is covered with flowers of different

\*Po-lu-lai. †U-chang. <sup>28</sup> There is no word for *li* in the text. <sup>29</sup> In Sban-tung. <sup>30</sup> Pe-lo, the first and last syllable in Vessantara.

<sup>31</sup> This passage is translated by (R.) thus: "When any matter is involved in doubt, they appeal to drugs, and decide upon the evidence of these."

hues, which succeed each other winter and summer, and are gathered by clergy and laity alike as offerings for Buddha.

The king of the country seeing Sung-Yun (*inquired respecting him, and*) on their saying that the ambassadors of the Great Wei (*dynasty*) had come, he courteously received their letters of introduction. On understanding that the Empress Dowager was devotedly attached to the law of Buddha, he immediately turned his face to the east, and, with closed hands and meditative heart, bowed his head; then, sending for a man who could interpret the Wei language he questioned Sung-Yun and said, "Are my honourable visitors men from the region of sun-rising?" Sung-Yun answered and said, "Our country is bounded on the east by the great sea, from this the sun rises according to the divine will (*the command of Tathagata*)." The king again asked, "Does that country produce holy men?" Sung-Yun then proceeded to enlarge upon the virtues of Confucius, of the Chow and Laou (Tseu), of the Chwang (*period*), and then of the silver walls and golden palaces of Fairy Land (P'eng lai Shan),<sup>22</sup> and then of the spirits, genii, and sages who dwell there; he further dilated on the divination of Kwan-lo, the medicinal art of Hwa-to, and the magical power of Tso-ts'ze;<sup>23</sup> descanting on these various subjects, and properly distinguishing their several properties, he finished his address. Then the king said, "If these things are really as your worship says, then truly yours is the land of Buddha, and I ought to pray at the end of my life that I may be born in that country."

After this, Sung-Yun with Hwei Sang left the city for the purpose of inspecting the traces which exist of the teaching (or religion) of Tathagata. To the east of the river is the place where Buddha dried his clothes. When first Tathagata came to the country of U-chang, he went to convert a dragon-king. He, being angry with Buddha, raised a violent storm with rain. The *sanghati* of Buddha was soaked through and through with the wet. After the rain was over, Buddha stopped on a rock, and, with his face to the east, sat down whilst he dried his robe (*kashaya*). Although many years have elapsed since then, the traces of the stripes of the garment are as visible as if newly done, and not merely the seams and bare outline, but one can see the marks of the very tissue itself, so that in looking at it, it appears as if the garment had not been removed, and, if one were asked to do it, as if the traces might be lifted up

<sup>22</sup> One of the three isles of the genii, believed to be in the Eastern Sea opposite the coast of China. <sup>23</sup> For these names see *Mayers Reader's Manual*, s. vv.

(as the garment itself). There are memorial towers erected on the spot where Buddha sat, and also where he dried his robe. To the west of the river is a tank occupied by a Naga-*raja*. By the side of the tank is a temple served by fifty priests and more. The Naga-*raja* ever and anon assumes supernatural appearances. The king of the country propitiates him with gold and jewels, and other precious offerings, which he casts into the middle of the tank; such of these as find their way out through a back exit, the priests are permitted to retain. Because the dragon thus provides for the necessary expenses of this temple (clothes and food), therefore men call it the Naga-*raja* Temple.

Eighty li to the north of the royal city there is the trace of the shoe of Buddha on a rock. They have raised a tower to cover it. The place where the print of the shoe is left on the rock is as if the foot had trodden on soft mud. Its length is undetermined, as at one time it is long, and at another time short. They have now founded a temple on the spot, capable of accommodating seventy priests and more. Twenty paces to the south of the tower is a spring of water issuing from a rock. Buddha once purifying (*his mouth*), planted a piece of his chewing-stick<sup>34</sup> in the ground; it immediately took root, and is at present a great tree, which the Tartars call Po-lu.<sup>35</sup> To the north of the city is the To-lo<sup>36</sup> temple, in which there are very numerous appliances for the worship of Buddha. The pagoda is high and large. The priests' chambers are ranged in order round the temple (*or tower*). There are sixty full-length golden figures (*herein*). The king, whenever he convenes (*or convening yearly*) a great assembly, collects the priests in this temple. On these occasions the Sramans within the country flock together in great crowds (*like clouds*). Sung-Yun and Hwei Sang, remarking the strict rules and eminent piety (*extreme austerities*) of those Bhikshus, and from a sense that the example of these priests singularly conduced to increase (their own) religious feelings, remitted two servants for the use of the convent to present the offerings and to water and sweep. From the royal city going south-east over a mountainous district eight days' journey, we come to the place where Tathagata, practising austerities, gave up his body to feed a starving tiger. It is a high mountain, with scarped precipices and towering peaks that pierce the clouds. The fortunate tree<sup>37</sup> and the Ling-chi grow here, whilst the groves and fountains (*or the forest rivulets*), the docile stags, and the variegated hues of the flowers, all delight the eye. Sung-

<sup>34</sup> Dantakashta. <sup>35</sup> The Pilu tree—*Salvadora Persica*. <sup>36</sup> Tara (?).

<sup>37</sup> Remusat translates it the tree *kalpa daru*.

Yun and Hwei Sang devoted a portion of their travelling funds to erect a pagoda on the crest of the hill, and they inscribed on a stone, in the square character, an account of the great merits of the Wei dynasty. This mountain possesses a temple called "Collected Bones,"<sup>38</sup> with 300 priests and more. One hundred and odd li to the south of the royal city is the place where Buddha (Julai), formerly residing in the Mo-hiu country, peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it, and extracted (*broke off*) a bone of his body for the purpose of writing with it.<sup>39</sup> Asoka-raja raised a pagoda on this spot for the purpose of enclosing these sacred relics. It is about ten *chang* high (120 feet). On the spot where he broke off his bone, the marrow ran out and covered the surface of a rock, which yet retains the colour of it, and is unctuous as though it had only recently been done.

To the south-west of the royal city 500 li is the Shen-shi<sup>40</sup> hill [*or the hill of (the prince) Sudana*]. The sweet waters and delicious fruits (*of this place*) are spoken of in the sacred books.<sup>41</sup> The mountain dells are agreeably warm; the trees and shrubs retain a perpetual verdure. At the time when the pilgrims arrived (*ta'i tsuh*), the gentle breeze which fanned the air, the songs of the birds, the trees in their spring-tide beauty, the butterflies that fluttered over the numerous flowers, all this caused Sung-Yun, as he gazed on this lovely scenery in a distant land, to revert to home thoughts; and so melancholy were his reflections, that he brought on a severe attack of illness; after a month, however, he obtained some charms of the Brahmins, which gave him ease.

To the south-east of the crest of the hill Shen-shi is a rock-cave of the prince,<sup>42</sup> with two chambers to it. Ten paces in front of this cave is a great square stone on which it is said the prince was accustomed to sit; above this Asoka raised a memorial tower.

<sup>38</sup>Remusat gives "collected gold." <sup>39</sup>The text is corrupt. I have substituted *chu* for *iso*. Mo-hiu is the *Margus*; the country would therefore be Margiana. But probably it refers to the Oxus country. <sup>40</sup>*Shenshi*, "illustrious resolution;" evidently a mistake for *shen-shi*, "illustrious charity" (Sudana).

<sup>41</sup> In the *Jataka* book, where the history of Vessantara is recorded.

<sup>42</sup> That is, of the Prince Sudatta or the Bountiful Prince. The whole of the history alluded to in the text may be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* under the Vessantara *Jataka*, p. 116. The account states that Vessantara (the prince alluded to in the text, called "the Bountiful," because of his extreme charity) gave to the king of Kalinga a white elephant that had the power to compel rain to fall. On this the subjects of the prince's father (who was called Sanda) forced him to banish the prince, with his wife (Madri-dewi) and his two children, to the rock Wankagiri, where the events alluded to in the text occurred. See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxx. fig. 1.

One li to the south of the tower is the place of the Pannasala (*leafy hut*) of the prince. One li north-east of the tower, fifty paces down the mountain, is the place where the son and daughter of the prince persisted in going round a tree, and would not depart (*with the Brahman*). On this the Brahman beat them with rods till the blood flowed down and moistened the earth. This tree still exists, and the ground, stained with blood, now produces a sweet fountain of water. Three li to the west of the cave is the place where the heavenly king Sakra, assuming the appearance of a lion sitting coiled up in the road, intercepted Man-kea.<sup>43</sup> On the stone are yet traces of his hair and claws: the spot also where Ajitakuta<sup>44</sup> and his disciples nourished the father and mother (*i.e.*, the prince and princess). All these have memorial towers. In this mountain formerly were the beds of 500 Arhats, ranged north and south in a double row; their seats also were placed opposite one to another. There is now a great temple here with about 200 priests. To the north of the fountain which supplied the prince with water is a temple. A herd of wild asses frequent this spot for grazing. No one drives them here, but they resort here of their own accord. Daily at early morn they arrive; they take their food at noon, and so they protect the temple. These are spirits who protect the tower (protecting-tower-spirits), commissioned for this purpose by the Rishi Uh-po.<sup>45</sup> In this temple there formerly dwelt a Shami (Sramanera), who being constantly occupied in sifting ashes (*belonging to the convent*), fell into a state of spiritual ecstasy (*Samadhi*). The Karmadana<sup>46</sup> of the convent had his funeral obsequies performed, and drew him about, without his perceiving it, whilst his skin hung on his shrunken bones. The Rishi Uh-po continued to take the office of the Sramanera in the sifting of the ashes. On this the king of the country founded a chapel to the Rishi, and placed in it a figure of him as he appeared, and ornamented it with much gold leaf.

Close to the peak of this hill is a temple of Po-keen, built by the Yakshas. There are about eighty priests in it. They say that the Arhats and Yakshas continually come to offer religious services, to water and sweep the temple, and to gather wood for it. Ordinary priests are not allowed to occupy this temple. The Shaman To-Ying, of the Great Wei dynasty, came to this temple to pay religious worship; but having done so, he departed,

<sup>43</sup> This may possibly allude to Madri-dewi; the symbol *kea* denotes "a lady." We read that Sakra caused some wild beasts to appear to keep Madri-dewi from coming back. See Spence Hardy, *loc. cit.*; and also the lions in the Sanchi sculpture, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxii. fig. 2. <sup>44</sup> O-chou-to-kiu. Called Achehhtutain the Singhalese accounts. He was an ascetic who resided in the neighbourhood of the hill.

<sup>45</sup> The symbol for "Uh" is doubtful. <sup>46</sup> The steward.

without daring to take up his quarters there. During the middle decade of the 4th month of the first year of Ching-Kwong (520 A.D.), we entered the kingdom of Gandhara. This country closely resembles the territory of U-chang. It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo.<sup>47</sup> This is the country which the Ye-thas<sup>48</sup> destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king<sup>49</sup> over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (*or* dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort. Entirely self-reliant on his own strength, he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin (Cophene),<sup>50</sup> disputing the boundaries of their kingdom, and his troops had been already engaged in it for three years.

The king has 700 war-elephants, each of which carries ten men armed with sword and spear, while the elephants are armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which to fight when at close quarters. The king continually abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom, in consequence of which the old men had to labour and the common people were oppressed. Sung-Yun repaired to the royal camp to deliver his credentials. The king<sup>51</sup> was very rough with him, and failed to salute him. He sat still whilst receiving the letters. Sung-Yun perceived that these remote barbarians were unfit for exercising public duties, and that their arrogance refused to be checked. The king now sent for interpreters, and addressed Sung-Yun as follows: "Has your worship not suffered much inconvenience in traversing all these countries and encountering so many dangers on the road?" Sung-Yun replied, "We have been sent by our royal mistress to search for works of the great translation through distant regions. It is true the difficulties of the road are great, yet we cannot (*dare not*) say we are fatigued; but your majesty and your

<sup>47</sup> Referring, in all probability, to the dragon Apalala, whose fountain to the N.E. of Mungali (the capital of U-chang) gave rise to the river Subhavastu or Sweti, that flows through this territory.

<sup>48</sup> Alluding perhaps to the conquest of Kilotlo, at the beginning of the fifth century. The king conquered Gandhara, and made Peshawar his capital.<sup>49</sup> Or, set up a Lara dynasty, but the whole of the context is obscure.<sup>50</sup> Then in the possession of the Great Yuchi, whose capital was Kahul.<sup>51</sup> This king was probably the one called Onowei, who reigned under the title "So-lin-teu-pim-teu-fa Khan" or, the prince who seizes and holds firmly." We are told that he refused homage to the Wei Tartars alluding probably to the circumstance recorded in this account of Sung-Yun (C).

forces (*three armies*), as you sojourn here on the frontier of your kingdom, enduring all the changes of heat and cold, are not you also nearly worn out?" The king, replying, said, "It is impossible to submit to such a little country as this, and I am sorry that you should ask such a question." Sung-Yun, on first speaking with the king, (*thought*), "This barbarian is unable to discharge with courtesy his official duties; he sits still whilst receiving diplomatic papers;" and now being about to reply to him again, he determined to reprove him as a fellow-man (*or* having the feelings of a man); and so he said, "Mountains are high and low—rivers are great and small—amongst men also there are distinctions, some being noble and others ignoble. The sovereign of the Ye-tha, and also of U-chang, when they received our credentials, did so respectfully; but your majesty alone has paid us no respect." The king, replying, said, "When I see the king of the Wei, then I will pay my respects; but to receive and read his letters whilst seated, what fault can be found with this? When men receive a letter from father or mother, they don't rise from their seats to read it. The Great Wei sovereign is to me (for the nonce) both father and mother, and so, without being unreasonable, I will read the letters you bring me still sitting down." Sung-Yun then took his departure without any official salutation. He took up his quarters in a temple, in which his entertainment was very poor. At this time the country of Po-tai<sup>53</sup> sent two young lions to the king of Gandhara as a present. Sung-Yun had an opportunity of seeing them; he noticed their fiery temper and courageous mien. The pictures of these animals common in China are not at all good resemblances of them.

After this, going west five days, they arrived at the place where Tathagata made an offering of his head for the sake of a man, where there is both a tower and temple, with about twenty priests. Going west three days, we arrive at the great river Sin-tu. On the west bank of this river is the place where Tathagata took the from of (*or* became) a great fish called *Makara*<sup>54</sup> and came out of the river, and for twelve years supported the people with his flesh. On this spot is raised a memorial tower. On the rock are still to be seen the traces of the scales of the fish.

Again going west thirteen days' journey, we arrived at the city of Fo-s-h'a-fu.<sup>54</sup> The river valley (*in which this city is built*) is a rich loamy soil. The city walls have gate-

<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the same as the Fa-ti (Betik) of Hiuen Tsiang, 400 li to the west of Bokhara (Jul. tome iii. p. 282). But the character of the text is so unfinished, that Po-tai may stand for Badakshan. <sup>54</sup> Ma-kie.

<sup>54</sup> The Varusha (Po-lou-sha) of Hiuen Tsiang.

defences. The houses are thick, and there are very many groves (*around the city*), whilst fountains of water enrich the soil; and as for the rest, there are costly jewels and gems in abundance. The customs of the people are honest and virtuous. Within this city there is an heretical temple<sup>55</sup> of ancient date called "Sang-teh" (Santi?). All religious persons frequent it and highly venerate it. To the north of the city one li is the temple of the White Elephant Palace.<sup>56</sup> Within the temple all is devoted to the service of Buddha. There are here stone images highly adorned and very beautiful, very many in number, and covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes. Before the temple and belonging to it is a tree called the White Elephant Tree, from which, in fact, this temple took its origin and name. Its leaves and flowers are like those of the Chinese date-tree, and its fruit begins to ripen in the winter quarter. The tradition common amongst the old people is this: "That when this tree is destroyed, then the old law of Buddha will also perish." Within the temple is a picture of the prince<sup>57</sup> and his wife, and the figure of the Brahman begging the boy and the girl. The Tartars, seeing this picture, could not refrain from tears.

Again going west one day's journey, we arrive at the place where Tathagata plucked out his eyes to give in charity. Here also is a tower and a temple. On a stone of the temple is the impress of the foot of Kasyapa Buddha. Again going west one day, we crossed a deep river,<sup>58</sup> more than 300 paces broad. Sixty li south-west of this we arrive at the capital of the country of Gandhara.<sup>59</sup> Seven li to the south-east of this city there is a Tsioh-li Fou-thou<sup>60</sup> (*a pagoda with a surmounting pole*). [The record of Tao-Yung says, "Four li to the east of the city."] Investigating the origin of this tower, we find that when Tathagata was in the world he was passing once through this country with his disciples on his mission of instruction; on which occasion, when delivering a discourse on the east side of the city, he said, "Three hundred years after my Nirvana, there will be a king of this country called Kanishka.\* On this spot he will raise a pagoda (*Feou-thou*). Accordingly, 300 years after that event, there was a king of this country so called. On

<sup>55</sup> In this passage I take the word *fan* (all) to be a misprint for *Fan* (Brahman), in which case the expression *Wei fan* would mean "heretical Brahman." If this be not the correct translation of the passage, then it may perhaps be rendered thus: "Within and without this city there are very many old temples, which are named 'Sang-teh' (*santi*, union or assembly?)."

<sup>56</sup> This is probably the Pilusara *stupa* of Hiuen Tsiang (Jul. tome ii. P. 54).

<sup>57</sup> That is, of the Bountiful Prince (Wessantara) referred to before.

<sup>58</sup> The Indus. <sup>59</sup> That is, Peshawar. <sup>60</sup> *Tsioh-li* means "a sparrow" but it is phonetic for *sula*, a surmounting spear or trident. \*Ka-ni-si-ka



one occasion, when going out to the east of the city, he saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of cows' dung. They had raised it about three feet high, when suddenly they disappeared (*or*, it fell). [The record states, "One of the children, raising himself in the air and turning towards the king, repeated a verse (*gatha*).] The king, surprised at this miraculous event immediately erected a tower for the purpose of enclosing (*the small pagoda*), but gradually the small tower grew higher and higher, and at last went outside and removed itself 400 feet off, and there stationed itself. Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the great tower 300 paces and more."<sup>1</sup> [The record of Tao-Yung says 390 paces.] To crown all, he placed a roof-pole upright and even. [The record of Tao-Yung says it was 35 feet high.] Throughout the building he used carved wood; he constructed stairs to lead to the top. The roof consisted of every kind of wood. Altogether there were thirteen storeys; above which there was an iron pillar, three feet high,<sup>2</sup> with thirteen gilded circlets. Altogether the height from the ground was 700 feet. [Tao-Yung says the iron pillar was  $88\frac{3}{4}$  feet (*high*), with fifteen encircling discs, and  $63\frac{2}{3}$  *changs* from the ground (743 feet).] This meritorious work being finished, the dung pagoda, as at first, remained three paces south of the great tower. The Brahmans, not believing that it was really made of dung, dug a hole in it to see. Although years have elapsed since these events, this tower has not corrupted; and although they have tried to fill up the hole with scented earth, they have not been able to do so. It is now enclosed with a protecting canopy. The Tsiuh-li pagoda, since its erection, has been three times destroyed by lightning, but the kings of the country have each time restored it. The old men say, "When this pagoda is finally destroyed by lightning, then the law of Buddha also will perish."

The record of Tao-Yung says, "When the king had finished all the work except getting the iron pillar up to the top, he found that he could not raise this heavy weight. He proceeded, therefore, to erect at the four corners a lofty stage; he expended in the work large treasures, and then he with his queen and princes ascending on it, burnt incense and scattered flowers with all their hearts and power of soul; then, with one turn of the windlass, they raised the weight, and so succeeded in elevating it to its place. The Tartars say, therefore, that the four heavenly kings lent their aid in this work, and that, if they had not done so, no human strength would have been of any avail. Within the pagoda there is contained every sort of Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> Hiuen Tsiang says it was a li and a half in circumference. <sup>2</sup> Most likely there is a mistake in the text; the height of the iron pillar should be 30 feet.

utensil ; here are gold and jewelled (vessels) of a thousand forms and vast variety, to name which even would be no easy task. At sunrise the gilded discs of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, whilst the gentle breeze of morning causes the precious bells (that are suspended from the roof) to tinkle with a pleasing sound. Of all the pagodas of the western world, this one is by far the first (in size and importance). At the first completion of this tower they used true pearls in making the network covering over the top ; but after some years, the king, reflecting on the enormous value of this ornamental work, thought thus with himself : "After my decease (*funeral*) I fear some invader may carry it off"—or "supposing the pagoda should fall, there will be no one with means sufficient to re-build it ;" on which he removed the pearl work and placed it in a coper vase, which he removed to the north-west of the pagoda 100 paces, and buried it in the earth. Above the spot he planted a tree, which is called Po-tai (*Bodhi*), the branches of which, spreading out on each side, with their thick foliage, completely shade the spot from the sun. Underneath the tree on each side there are sitting figures (*of Buddha*) of the same height, viz., a *chang* and a half (17 feet). There are always four dragons in attendance to protect these jewels ; if a man (*only in his heart*) covets them, calamities immediately befall him. There is also a stone tablet erected on the spot, and engraved on it are these words of direction : "Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed, after long search, the virtuous man may find here pearls (*of value sufficient*) to help him restore it."

Fifty paces to the south of Tsioh-li pagoda there is a stone tower, in shape perfectly round, and two *chang* high (27 feet). There are many spiritual indications (*shown by it*) ; so that men, by touching it, can find out if they are lucky or unlucky. If they are lucky, then by touching it the golden bells will tinkle ; but if unlucky, then, though a man should violently push the tower, no sound would be given out. Hwei Sang, having travelled from his country, and fearing that he might not have a fortunate return, paid worship to this sacred tower, and sought a sign from it. On this, he did but touch it with his finger, and immediately the bells rang out. Obtaining this omen, he comforted his heart. And the result proved<sup>65</sup> the truth of the augury. When Hwei Sang first went up to the capital, the Empress had conferred upon him a thousand streamers of a hundred feet in length and of the five colours, and five hundred variegated silk (*mats* ?) of scented grass. The princes, dukes, and nobility had given him two thousand flags. Hwei Sang, in his journey from Khotan to Gandhara,—wherever there was a disposition to Buddhism—had

<sup>65</sup> Or, he consoled himself by the thought that after his undertaking he would have a safe return.

freely distributed these in charity, so that when he arrived here, he had only left one flag of 100 feet in length, given him by the Empress. This he decided to offer as a present to the tower of Sivika-*raja*, whilst Sung-Yun gave two servants to the Tsioh-li pagoda in perpetuity, to sweep it and water it. Hwei Sang, out of the little travelling funds he had left, employed a skilful artist to depict on copper the Tsioh-li pagoda and also the four principal pagodas of Sakyamuni.

After this, going north-west seven days' journey, they crossed a great river (Indus), and arrived at the place where Tathagata, when he was Sivika-*raja*,<sup>64</sup> delivered the dove; here there is a temple and a tower also. There was formerly here a large storehouse of Sivika-*raja*, which was burnt down. The grain which was in it was parched with the heat, and is still to be found in the neighbourhood (of the ruins). If a man take but a single grain of this, he never suffers from fever; the people of the country also take it to prevent the power of<sup>65</sup> the sun hurting them.

[The records of Tao-Yung say, "At Nagarahara<sup>66</sup> there is a skull-bone of Buddha, four inches round, of a yellowish-white colour, hollow underneath, (sufficient) to receive a man's finger, shining, and in appearance like a wasp nest.]

We then visited the Khakkharam<sup>67</sup> temple. This contains the robe (*kashaya*) of Buddha in thirteen pieces. In measurement this garment is as long as it is broad (or, when measured, it is sometimes long and sometimes broad). Here also is the staff of Buddha, in length a *chang* and seven-tenths (about 18 feet), in a wooden case, which is covered with gold leaf. The weight of this staff is very uncertain; sometimes it is so heavy that a hundred men cannot raise it, and at other times it is so light that one man can lift it. In the city of Nagarahara\* is a tooth of Buddha and also some of his hair, both of which are contained in precious caskets; morning and evening religious offerings are made to them.

We next arrive at the cave of Gopala,<sup>68</sup> where is the shadow of Buddha. Entering the mountain cavern fifteen feet, and looking for a long time (or, at a long distance) at the western<sup>69</sup> side of it opposite the door, then at length the figure, with its characteristic marks, appears; on going nearer to look at it gradually grows fainter and then disappears. On touching the place where it was with the hand, there is nothing

<sup>64</sup> Vide Jul., tome ii p. 137 (*infra*), and *Abstract of four Lecturers*, p. 31.

<sup>65</sup> Or to enable them to bear the power of the sun. <sup>66</sup> Na-ka-lo-ho.

<sup>67</sup> Ki-ka-lam. The Khakkharam Temple, or the Temple of the Religious Staff (vide *Fa-hian*, cap. xiii). \* Na-kie <sup>68</sup> The text is here, as in various parts, corrupt. I have substituted *po* for *lo* in Gopala; and *kuh* for *luh*, i.e., others "cave" for "deer." <sup>69</sup> The text has *sz'* (four) for *si* (west).

but the bare wall. Gradually retreating, the figure begins to come in view again, and foremost is conspicuous that peculiar mark between the eyebrows<sup>70</sup> (*urna*), which is so rare among men. Before the cave is a square stone, on which is a trace of Buddha's foot.

One hundred paces south-west of the caves is the place where Buddha washed his robe. One li to the north of the cave is the stone cell of Mudgalyayana; to the north of which is a mountain, at the foot of which the great Buddha with his own hand made a pagoda ten *chang* high (115 feet). They say that when this tower sinks down and enters the earth, then the law of Buddha will perish. There are, moreover, seven towers here, to the south of which is a stone with an inscription on it; they say Buddha himself wrote it. The foreign letters are distinctly legible even to the present time.

Hwei Sang abode in the country of U-chang two years. The customs of the western foreigners (Tartars) are, to a great extent, similar (*with ours*); the minor differences we cannot fully detail. When it came to the second month of the second year of Ching-un (521 A.D.) he began to return.

The foregoing account is principally drawn from the private records of Tao-Yung and Sung-Yun. The details given by Hwei Sang were never wholly recorded.

<sup>70</sup>. I think this is the meaning of the passage, "We begin to see the mark, face-distinguishing, so rare among men."

NOTE—With reference to Lala or Lara, it seems from Cunningham's remark (*Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. p. 31) that this term is equivalent to "lord." The Laras, according to Hsuen Tsiang, dwelt in Malava and Valabhi. It was from this region that the ancestors of Vijaya came (*Ind. Antiq.*), vol. xiii. p. 35, n. 25; see also *Journ. of Pali Text Soc.*, 1883, p. 59. It is worth consideration whether these Laras or Lords were akin to the Vrijjis of Vaisali who were also "lords" (Gothic, *Fraujas*) (?), and whether they were not both Northern invaders allied to the Yue-chi. The fable of the daughter of the king of Vanga cohabiting with a wild lion (*Dipavamsa*, chap. ix.) may simply mean that one of these Northerners (who were called *Lions*) carried off a native girl and cohabited with her. From this union sprang the thirty-two brothers, of whom the eldest were Vijaya and Sumeta. (*vide Dipavamsa loc. cit.*) See Page 60, footnote No. 23.)

# BUDDHIST RECORDS OF THE WESTERN WORLD

## TA-T'ANG-SI-YU-KI

*Records of the Western World*<sup>1</sup> (compiled during) the Great T'ang<sup>2</sup> dynasty (A. D. 618-907); translated by Imperial command by Hsuen Tsiang,<sup>3</sup> a Doctor of the three Pitokas, and edited by Pien Ki, a Shaman of the To-tsung-chi Temple

## PREFACE<sup>4</sup>

When of yore the precious hair-circle<sup>5</sup> shed forth its flood of light, the sweet dew was poured upon the great thousand (worlds),<sup>6</sup> the golden mirror<sup>7</sup> displayed its brightness, and a fragrant wind was spread over the earth; then it was known that he had appeared in the three worlds<sup>8</sup> who is rightly named the lord of the earth. His brightness, indeed, dwells in the four limits (of the universe), but his sublime model was fixed in the middle of the world. Whereupon, as the sun of wisdom declined, the shadow of his doctrine spread to the East, the grand rules of the emperor<sup>9</sup> diffused themselves afar, and his imposing laws reached to the extremities of the West.

<sup>1</sup> The "Western World." This expression denotes generally the countries west of China. Mayers, in his note on Chang K'ien (*Reader's Manual*, No. 18), confines the meaning to Turkistan.

<sup>2</sup> That is, during the reign of T'ai Tsung (Cheng Kwan) of the Great T'ang dynasty, A.D. 646.

<sup>3</sup> Hsuen Tsiang: in spelling Chinese names, the method of Dr. Wells Williams in his *Tonic Dictionary* has been generally followed. See note 10.

<sup>4</sup> This preface was written by Chang Yuch, who flourished as minister of state under T'ang Huan Tsung (A.D. 713-756). He is called T'chaog-choue by Stan. Julien. It is written in the usual ornate style of such compositions. I have mostly followed Julien's rendering and refer the reader to his explanatory notes for fuller information.

<sup>5</sup> This phrase designates one of the thirty-two marks (viz. the urna) which characterise a great man, and which were recognised on the Buddha. See Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 30, 543, 553, and 616; *Introd. Buddh.* (2d ed.), p. 308; Foucaux, *Lalita Vistara*, p. 286; Beal, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, I. i. 83, 84, 114, &c.; Hodgson, *Essays* (Serampore edit.), p. 129, or (Lond. 1874) pt. i. p. 90; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (2d ed.), p. 150, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Julien explains this as "the great chiliocosm," and refers to Remusat, *Mélang. Post.*, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> The moon.

<sup>8</sup> Buddha had appeared in the world of desires (*Kamadhatu*), the world of forms (*Rupadhatu*), the world without forms (*Arupadhatu*).—Julien. But here it simply means "in the world."

<sup>9</sup> The emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 627-649).

There was in the temple of "great benevolence" a doctor of the three *Pitakas* called Hiuen Tsiang.<sup>10</sup> His common name was Chin-shi. His ancestors came from Ing-chuen;<sup>11</sup> the emperor Hien<sup>12</sup> held the sceptre; reigning at Hwa-chau,<sup>13</sup> he opened the source. The great Shun entertained the messengers as he laid on Li-shan<sup>14</sup> the foundation of his renown. The three venerable ones distinguished themselves during the years of Ki.<sup>15</sup> The six extraordinary (*events*) shone during the Han period. In penning odes there was one who equalled the clear moon; in wandering by the way there was one who resembled the brilliant stars—(*his illustrious ancestors*) like fishes in the lake, or as birds assembled before the wind, by their choice services in the world served to produce as their result an illustrious descendant.

The master of the law under these fortunate influences came into the world. In him were joined sweetness and virtue. These roots, combined and deeply planted, produced their fruits rapidly. The source of his wisdom (*reason*) was deep, and wonderfully it increased. At his opening life he was rosy as the evening vapours and (*round*) as the rising moon. As a boy (*collecting-sand age*) he was sweet as the odour of cinnamon or the vanilla tree. When he grew up he thoroughly mastered the *Fan* and *Su*;<sup>16</sup> the nine borders<sup>17</sup> were filled with (*bore*) his renown, the five prefectures (*or palaces*) together resounded his praise.

At early dawn he studied the true and the false, and through the night shone forth his goodness; the mirror of his wisdom, fixed on the true receptacle, remained stationary. He considered the limits of life, and was permanently at rest (*in the persuasion that*) the vermilion ribbon and the violet silken tassels are the pleasing bonds that keep one attached to the world; but the precious car and the red pillow, these are the means of crossing the ford and escaping the world. Wherefore he put away from him the pleasures of sense, and spoke of finding refuge in some hermit retreat. His noble brother Chang-tsi was

<sup>10</sup> I adopt this mode of spelling for reasons stated in the introduction. He is generally known from Julien's French version as "Hiouen Tsiang." Mayers (*Reader's Manual*, p. 290) calls him Huan Chwan; Wylie, Yuen-Chwang; and the name is also represented by Huen-Chwang.

<sup>11</sup> Yu-chau in the province of Honan.—Jul.

<sup>12</sup> That is, Hwang Ti (B.C. 2697), otherwise called Hien-yuen-shi.

<sup>13</sup> Hwa-chau was an island of the kingdom of Hwa-siu, where Fo-hi fixed his court.—Jul.

<sup>14</sup> For Shun and Li-shan consult Mayers under *Shun* (*op. cit.* No. 617).

<sup>15</sup> *I.e.*, under the reign of the Chau, whose family name was K'i.—Jul.

<sup>16</sup> That is, the books of the legendary period of Chinese history, from 2852 B.C. to 2697 B.C.

<sup>17</sup> Or the nine islands (*Khiu-kao-tsai-in*), concerning which there is a passage in the *Shi King*.—Jul. p. lii.

a master of the law, a pillar and support of the school of Buddha. He was as a dragon or an elephant (or a dragon-elephant) in his own generation, and, as a falcon or a crane, he mounted above those to come. In the court and the wilderness was his fame exalted; within and without was his renown spread. Being deeply affectionate, they loved one another, and so fulfilled the harmony of mutual relationship (*porentage*). The master of the law was diligent in his labour as a student; he lost not a moment of time, and by his studies he rendered his teachers illustrious, and was an ornament to his place of study. His virtuous qualities were rightly balanced, and he caused the perfume of his fame to extend through the home of his adoption. Whip raised, he travelled on his even way; he mastered the nine divisions of the books, and swallowed (*the loke*) Mong;<sup>18</sup> he worked his paddles across the dark ford; he gave his attention to (*looked down upon*) the four *Vedas*, whilst finding *Lu* small.<sup>19</sup>

From this time he travelled forth and frequented places of discussion, and so passed many years, his merit completed, even as his ability was perfected. Reaching back to the beginning, when the sun and moon first lit up with their brightness the spiritually (*created*) world, or, as Tseu-yun, with his kerechief suspended at his girdle, startled into life (*developed*) his spiritual powers, so in his case the golden writing gradually unfolded itself. He waited for the autumn car, yet hastened as the clouds; he moved the handle of jade<sup>20</sup> for a moment, and the mist-crowds were dispersed as the heaped-up waves. As the occasion required, he could use the force of the flying discus or understand the delicate sounds of the lute used in worship.<sup>21</sup>

With all the fame of these acquirements, he yet embarked in the boat of humility and departed alone. In the land of Hwan-yuen he first broke down the boasting of the iron-clad stomach;<sup>22</sup> in the village of Ping-lo in a moment he exhibited the wonder of

<sup>18</sup> To swallow the lake Mong is a metaphorical way of saying he had acquired a vast erudition.—Jul.

<sup>19</sup> To find "Lu small" is an allusion to a passage in Mencius: "Confucius mounted on the mountain of the East, and found that the king of Lu (*i.e.*, his own country) was small." (Jul.) The meaning of the expression in the text seems to be that Hsien Tsiang found his own studies contracted and small, so he bent down his head to examine the *Vedas*.

<sup>20</sup> The fly-flap of the orator has a jade handle.

<sup>21</sup> So I have ventured to translate the word *pai*, although in the addenda at the end of Book I. the word is considered corrupt.

<sup>22</sup> This probably refers to some minor encounter or discussion which Hsien Tsiang had in his own country. The expression "iron-clad stomach" refers to the story told of one he met with in his travels in India who wore an iron corslet lest his learning should burst open his body.—*Si-yu-ki*, book x. vol. 9.

the floating wood.<sup>23</sup> Men near and afar beheld him with admiration as they said one to another, "Long ago we heard of the eight dragons of the family of Sun, but now we see the double wonder (ke) of the gate of Chin. Wonderful are the men of Ju and Ing."<sup>24</sup> This is true indeed! The master of the law, from his early days till he grew up, pondered in heart the mysterious principles (of religion). His fame spread wide among eminent men.

At this time the schools were mutually contentious; they hastened to grasp the end without regarding the beginning; they seized the flower and rejected the reality; so there followed the contradictory teaching of the North and South, and the confused sounds of "Yes" and "No," perpetual words! On this he was afflicted at heart, and fearing lest he should be unable to find out completely the errors of translations, he purposed to examine thoroughly the literature of the *perfume elephant*,<sup>25</sup> and to copy throughout the list of the dragon palace.<sup>26</sup>

With a virtue of unequalled character, and at a time favourable in its indications, he took his staff, dusted his clothes, and set off for distant regions. On this he left behind him the dark waters of the Pa river;<sup>27</sup> he bent his gaze forwards; he then advanced right on to the T'sung-ling mountains. In following the courses of rivers and crossing the plains he encountered constant dangers. Compared with him Po-wang<sup>28</sup> went but a little way, and the journey of Fa-hien<sup>29</sup> was short indeed. In all the districts through which he journeyed he learned thoroughly the dialects; he investigated throughout the deep secrets (of religion) and penetrated to the very source of the stream. Thus he was

<sup>23</sup> I cannot but think this refers to the ability of Hiuen Tsiang in hitting on the solution of a difficult question, as the blind tortoise with difficulty finds the hole in a floating piece of wood.

<sup>24</sup> The rivers Ju and Ing are in the province of Hooan. The saying in the text is quoted from a letter addressed by Siun-yu to the emperor during the eastern Han dynasty.—Jul.

<sup>25</sup> If we may venture to give a meaning to this expression, the "perfume elephant" (*Gandhahasti*), which so frequently occurs in Buddhist books, it may refer to the solitary elephant (bull elephant) when in rut. A perfume then flows from his ears. The word is also applied to an elephant of the very best class.

<sup>26</sup> The books carried (as the fable says) to the palace of the Nagas to be kept in safety.

<sup>27</sup> It rises in the Lan-thien district of the department of Si-'gan-fu in the province of Shen-si.—Jul.

<sup>28</sup> The celebrated general Chang K'ien who lived in the second century B.C., was the first Chinese who penetrated to the extreme regions of the west. "In B.C. 122 he was sent to negotiate treaties with the kingdom of Si-yu, the present Turkistan" (Mayers). He was ennobled as the Marquis Po-Wang. Beal, *Travels of Fah-klan, &c.*, pp. xvii, xviii; Pau-thir, *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iii. 1839, p. 260; Julien, *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv. tom. x. (1847), or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix pp. 14, 15.

<sup>29</sup> The well-known Chinese Buddhist traveller, A.D. 399-414.



able to correct the books and transcend (*the writers of*) India. The texts being transcribed on palm leaves, he then returned to China.

The Emperor T'ai Tsung, surnamed Wen-wang-ti, who held the golden wheel and was seated royally on the throne, waited with impatience for that eminent man. He summoned him therefore to the green enclosure,<sup>30</sup> and, impressed by his past acquirements, he knelt before him in the yellow palace. With his hand he wrote proclamations full of affectionate sentiments; the officers of the interior attended him constantly; condescending to exhibit his illustrious thoughts, he wrote a preface to the sacred doctrine of the *Tripitaka*, consisting of 780 words. The present emperor (Kao Tsung) had composed in the spring pavilion a sacred record consisting of 579 words, in which he sounded to the bottom the stream of deep mystery and expressed himself in lofty utterances. But now, if he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) had not displayed his wisdom in the wood of the cock,<sup>31</sup> nor scattered his brightness on the peak of the vulture,<sup>32</sup> how could he (*the emperor*) have been able to abase his sacred composition in the praise of the ornament of his time?

In virtue of a royal mandate, he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) translated 657 works from the original Sanskrit (*Fan*). Having thoroughly examined the different manners of distant countries, the diverse customs of separate people, the various products of the soil and the class divisions of the people, the regions where the royal calendar is received<sup>33</sup> and where the sounds of moral instruction have come, he has composed in twelve books the *Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ki*. Herein he has collected and written down the most secret principles of the religion of Buddha, couched in language plain and precise. It may be said, indeed, of him, that his works perish not.

<sup>30</sup> The green enclosure surrounding the imperial seat or throne.

<sup>31</sup> The *Kukkuta sangharama* near Patna.

<sup>32</sup> The vulture Peak (*Gridhrakut parvata*), near Rajagriha.

<sup>33</sup> The royal calendar is the work distributed annually throughout the empire, containing all information as to the seasons, &c. —Jul.

# BOOK I

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

If we examine in succession the rules of the emperors,<sup>2</sup> or look into the records of the monarchs,<sup>3</sup> when P'au I<sup>4</sup> began to adjust matters<sup>5</sup> and Hien-yuen<sup>6</sup> began to let fall his robes,<sup>7</sup> we see how they administered the affairs, and first divided the limits of the empire.<sup>8</sup>

When T'ang(-ti) Yao<sup>9</sup> received the call of heaven (*to rule*), his glory reached to the four quarters; when Yu(-ti) Shun<sup>10</sup> had received his map of the earth, his virtue flowed throughout the nine provinces. From that time there have come down clear<sup>11</sup> records, annals of events; though distant, we may hear the previous doings (*of eminent men*), or gather their words from the records of their disciples. How much rather when we live under a renowned government, and depend on

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of this Book consists of an introduction, written by Chang Yueh, the author of the preface.—Jul.

<sup>2</sup> That is, of the "three sovereigns" called (by some) Fuh-hi, Shen-nung, and Hwang-ti; others substitute Chuh Yung for Hwang-ti.—Mayers, *op. cit.*, p. 367 n.

<sup>3</sup> That is the five kings (*Ti*) who followed Hwang-ti. The records of these kings and monarchs are, of course, mostly apocryphal.

<sup>4</sup> P'au I is the same as Fuh-hi or T'ai Hao; the name is interpreted as "the slaughterer of beasts."—Mayers.

<sup>5</sup> To "adjust matters," so it seems the expression *chuh chan* must be interpreted. The symbol *chan* occupies the place of the East in Wan's arrangement of the Trigrams, and symbolises "movement." It is also used for "wood," because, as some say, "the East symbolises spring, when the growth of vegetation begins." Others say that the symbol "wood" as the analogue of *chan* is a misprint for *yi*, signifying increase (vid. Legge, *Yi King*, p. 248). But in any case, in the text the idea is of "movement towards order." Fuh-hi, like his sister Nu-kwa, is said to have reigned "under wood."

<sup>6</sup> Hien Yuen is the same as Hwang ti; it is the name of the hill near which the emperor dwelt.

<sup>7</sup> Hwang-ti, among other things, "regulated costume." It is probably to this the text refers.

<sup>8</sup> Hwang-ti "mapped out his empire in provinces, and divided the land into regular portions."—Mayers.

<sup>9</sup> The great emperor Yao, with his successor Shun, stand at the dawn of Chinese history. His date is 2356 B.C. He was called the Marquis or Lord (*hou*) of T'ang, because he moved from the principality of T'ao to the region of T'ang.

<sup>10</sup> That is, Shun, of the family of Yeou-yu: he succeeded Yao, by whom he was adopted after he had disinherited his son Tan Chu, B.C. 2258. He is said to have received the "map of the earth," an expression derived from "the map of the empire into provinces," by Hwang-ti.

<sup>11</sup> I have so translated this passage, although Julien takes the opposite sense. I suppose *hung* to mean "clear" or "plain."

those without partial aims.<sup>12</sup> Now then our great T'ang emperor (or dynasty), coformed to the highest degree to the heavenly pattern,<sup>13</sup> now holds the reins of government, and unites to ooc the six parts of the world, and is gloriously established. Like a fourth august monarch, he illustriously administers the empire. His mysterious controlling power flows afar; his auspicious influence (*fame or instruction*) widely extends: like the heaven and the earth, he covers and sustains (*his subjects*), or like the resounding wind or the fertilising rain. The eastern barbarians bring him tribute;<sup>14</sup> the western frontiers are brought to submission. He has secured and hands down the succession, appeasing tumult, restoring order.<sup>15</sup> He certainly surpasses the previous kings; he embraces in himself the virtues of former generations. Using the same currency<sup>16</sup> (or literature), all acknowledge his supreme rule. If his sacred merit be not recorded in history, then it is vain to exalt the great (or his greatness); if it be not to illumine the world, why then shine so brilliantly his mighty deeds?<sup>17</sup>

Hiuen Tsiang, wherever he bent his steps, has described the character of each country. Although he has not examined the country or distinguished the customs (*in every case*), he has shown himself trustworthy.<sup>18</sup> With respect to the emperor who transcends the five and surpasses the three, we read how all creatures enjoy his benefits, and all who can declare it utter his praises. From the royal city throughout the (*five*) Indies, men who inhabit the savage wilds, those whose customs are diverse from ours, through the most remote lands, all have received the royal calendar, all have accepted the imperial instructions; alike they praise his warlike merit and sing of his exalted virtues and his true grace of utterance. This is the first thing to be declared. In searching through previous annals no such thing

<sup>12</sup> "Without partial aims," rendered by Julien "qui critique le non-agir." The expression *wou-wei* generally means "absence of self" or "selfish aims."

<sup>13</sup> Julien renders this "*gouverne a l'instar du ciel*," which no doubt is the meaning of the text.

<sup>14</sup> Are enrolled as tribute-bearers.

<sup>15</sup> Referring to the troubles of the last years of the Sui dynasty, which was followed by the T'ang.—Jul.

<sup>16</sup> The symbol *wan* probably refers to the literature used alike by all the subjects of the Great T'ang. It can hardly mean that they all spoke the same language.

<sup>17</sup> This at least appears to be the meaning of the passage. Julien translates as follows: "Si les effets merveilleux de cette administration sublime n'étaient point consignés dans l'histoire, comment pourrait-on célébrer dignement les grandes vues (de l'empereur)? Si on ne les publiait par avec éclat, comment pourrait-on mettre en lumière un règne aussi florissant?"

<sup>18</sup> I do not like this translation; I should prefer to suppose Chang Yueh's meaning to be that Hiuen Tsiang wherever he went exalted the name of China (*Fung t'u*; *Fung* being the name of Fuh-hi), and that he left this impression respecting the emperor who transcends the five and excels the three, &c.

has been seen or heard of. In all the records of biography no such an account has been found. It was necessary first to declare the benefits arising from the imperial rule: now we proceed to narrate facts, which have been gathered either by report or sight, as follows:

This Sahaloka<sup>19</sup> (Soh-ho) world is the three-thousand-great-thousand system of worlds (*chiliocosm*), over which one Buddha exercises spiritual nuthority (*converts and controls*). In the middle of the great chiliocosm, illuminated by one sun and moon, are the four continents,<sup>20</sup> in which all the Buddhas, lords of the world,<sup>21</sup> appear by apparitional birth,<sup>22</sup> and here also die, for the purpose of guiding holy men and worldly men.

The mountain called Sumeru stands up in the midst of the great sea firmly fixed on a circle of gold, around which mountain the sun and moon revolve; this mountain is perfected by (*composed of*) four precious substances, and is the abode of the Devas.<sup>23</sup> Around this are seven mountain-ranges and seven seas; between each range a flowing sea of the eight peculiar

<sup>19</sup> The Sou-ho (*ar* So-ho) world is thus defined by Jin-Ch'au (Fa-kiai-lih *r'u*, part i. fol. 2): "The region (*r'u*) over which Buddha reigns is called Soh-ho-shi-kiai; the old *Sutras* change it into Sha-po, *i.e.*, *sarava*. It is called in the *Sutras* 'the patient land'; it is surrounded by an iron wall, within which are a thousand myriad worlds (*four empires*)." It seems from this that (*in later times at least*) the Soh-ho world is the same as the "great chiliocosm of worlds." The subject of the expansion of the Buddhist universe from one world (*four empires*) to an infinite number of worlds is fully treated by Jin-ch'au in the work above named and in the first part of my *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*. There is an expression, "tolerant like the earth," in the *Dhammapada*, vii. 95: from this idea of "patience" attributed to the earth was probably first derived the idea of the "patient people or beings" inhabiting the earth; and hence the lord of the world is called Sahampati, referred first to Mahabrahma, afterwards to Buddha. Childers says (*Pali Dict.* sub *voc.*): "I have never met with Sahaloka or Sahalokadhatu in Pali." Dr. Eitel in his *Handbook* translates a passage quoted as if the Saha world were the capital of the great chiliocosm (sub *voc.* *Sahal*). I should take the passage to mean that the Saha world is the collection of all the worlds of the great chiliocosm.

<sup>20</sup> The four continents or empires are the four divisions or quarters of the world. — *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Lords of the world, or honourable of the age, a little corresponding to *lokonatha*, or (in Pali) *tokanatha*, "protector or saviour of the world." — Childers, sub *voc.*

<sup>22</sup> I cannot think Julien is right in translating this passage by "y repandent" l'influence de leurs vertus." The expression "*fa-in-sang*" must refer to the apparitional mode of birth known as *anupapadaka*; and the body assumed by the Buddhas when thus born is called *Nirmanakaya*.

<sup>23</sup> The abode of the Devas, or rather, "where the Devas wander to and fro and live." The idea of Sumeru corresponds with Olympus. On the top of each is placed the "abodes of the gods." In the case of Sumeru, there are thirty-three gods or palaces. Buddhist books frequently explain this number *thirty-three* as referring to the year, the four seasons or quarters, and the twenty-eight days of the month.

qualities.<sup>24</sup> Outside the seven golden mountain-ranges is the salt sea. There are four lands (countries or islands, *dvipas*) in the salt sea, which are inhabited. On the east, (Pūrva) *vidēha*; on the south, *Jambudvīpa*; on the west, *Gōdhanya*; on the north, *Kurudvīpa*.

A golden-wheel monarch rules righteously the four; a silver-wheel monarch rules the three (excepting *Kuru*); a copper-wheel monarch rules over two (excepting *Kuru* and *Gōdhanya*); and an iron-wheel monarch rules over *Jambudvīpa* only. When first a wheel-king<sup>25</sup> is established in power a great wheel-gem appears floating in space, and coming towards him; its character—whether gold, silver, copper, or iron—determines the king's destiny<sup>26</sup> and his name.<sup>27</sup>

In the middle of *Jambudvīpa* there is a lake called *Anavatapta*,<sup>28</sup> to the south of the Fragrant Mountains and to the north of the great Snowy Mountains; it is 800 li and more in circuit; its sides are composed of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, and crystal; golden sands lie at the bottom, and its waters are clear as a mirror. The great earth *Bōdhisattva*,<sup>29</sup> by the power of his vow, transforms himself into a *Nāga-rāja* and dwells therein; from his dwelling the cool waters proceed forth and enrich *Jambudvīpa* (*Shen-pu-chau*).<sup>30</sup>

From the eastern side of the lake, through the mouth of a silver ox, flows the *Ganges* (*King-kia*)<sup>31</sup> river; encircling the lake once, it enters the south-eastern sea.

From the south of the lake, through a golden elephant's mouth, proceeds the *Sindhu* (*Sin-to*),<sup>32</sup> river; encircling the

<sup>24</sup> For the eight distinctive qualities, see *Catena*, p. 379.

<sup>25</sup> A wheel-king is a king who holds the wheel or discus of authority or power—*Chakravartī Raja*.

<sup>26</sup> That is, as the text says, whether he is to rule over four, three, two, or one of the divisions of the earth.

<sup>27</sup> His name (i.e., gold-wheel-king, silver-wheel-king, &c) is derived from this first sign or miraculous event.

<sup>28</sup> Defined in a note as "without the annoyance of heat," i.e., cool; *an-avatapta*. *As. Res.*, vol. VI, p. 488.

<sup>29</sup> I have translated *tal-ti-p'u-sa* as "the great earth *Bōdhisattva*," although Julien renders it "the *Bōdhisattva* of the great universe," because there is such a *Bōdhisattva*, viz. *Kṣitigarbha*, who was invoked by Buddha at the time of his temptation by Mara; and because I do not think that *tal-ti* can be rendered *universe*. The reference appears to be to one *Nāga*, viz., *Anavatapta Nāgarāja*.

<sup>30</sup> In the Chinese *Jambudvīpa* is represented by three symbols *Shen-pu-chau*; the last symbol means an "isle" or "islet," and therefore the compound is equivalent to *Jambudvīpa*.

<sup>31</sup> The *King-kia* or *Ganges* river was anciently written *Hang-ho* or *River Hang*. It was also written *Hang-kia* (Ch. Ed.)

<sup>32</sup> *Sin-to*, the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; formerly written *Sin-t'au* (Ch. Ed.)

lake once, it flows into the south-western sea.

From the western side of the lake, from the mouth of a horse of lapis-lazuli, proceeds the river Vakshu (Po-tsu),<sup>33</sup> and encircling the lake once, it falls into the north-western sea. From the north side of the lake, through the mouth of a crystal lion, proceeds the river Sita (Si-to),<sup>34</sup> and encircling the lake once, it falls into the north-eastern sea. They also say that the streams of this river Sita, entering the

<sup>33</sup> The Vakshu (*po-tsu*, formerly written *Poh-ch'o*) is the Oxus or Amu-Daria (Idrisi calls it the Wakhsh-ab), which flows from the Sarik-kul lake in the Pamir plateau, lat. 37° 27' N., long. 73° 40' E., at an elevation of about 13,950 feet. It is supplied by the melting snows of the mountains, which rise some 3500 feet higher along its southern shores. It is well called, therefore, "the cool lake" (Anavatapta). The Oxus issues from the western end of the lake, and after "a course of upwards of a thousand miles, in a direction generally north-west, it falls into the southern end of the lake Aral" (Wood). This lake Lieut. Wood intended to call Lake Victoria. Its name, Sarik-kul,—"the yellow valley"—is not recognised by later travellers, some of whom call it Kul-i-Pamir-kulan, "the lake of the Great Pamir." Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 232, 233, note I; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. (1870), pp. 122, 123, 449, 450, vol. xlii. p. 507, vol. xlv. pp. 390ff., vol. xlvii. p. 34, vol. xlviii. p. 221; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 166 n, 167.

<sup>34</sup> The Sita (*Si-to*, formerly written *Si-t'o*) is probably the Yarkand river (the Zarafshan). This river rises (according to Prejevalsky) in the Karakorum mountains, at an elevation of 18,850 feet (lat : 35°30' N. long. 77°45' E.) It takes a north and then a westerly course, and passing to the eastward of Lake Sarik-kul, bends to the north and finally to the east. It unites with the Kasbgar and Khotan rivers, and they conjointly form the Tarim, which flows on to Lake Lob, and is there lost. The Sita is sometimes referred to by Jaxartes or the Sarik-kul river (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 120). In this case it is identified with the Silis of the ancients (Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, vol. iii. 2, p. 238). It is probably the Sida named by Ktesias,—"*stagnum in Indis in quo nihil innatet, omnia mergantur*" (Pliny, *H. N.* lib. xxxi. 2. 18). This agrees with the Chinese account that the Yellow River flows from the "weak water" (*Joshwai*), which is a river, "fabled to issue from the foot of the Kwen-lun mountain." "It owes its name to the peculiar nature of the water, which is incapable of supporting even the weight of a feather" (Mayers, *sub voc.*) This last remark agrees curiously with the comment on *Jatko* xxi., referred to by Minayef in his *Poli Grammar* (p. ix. Guyard's translation), which derives the name of Sida from *sad + ava*, adding that "the water is so subtle that the feather of a peacock cannot be supported by it, but is *swallowed up*" (Pali, *siddhi*, from root *sod*, "to sink.") A river Sita is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (vi. 6, sl. 219), north of Meru. Megasthenes mentions both a fountain and river Silas which had the same peculiarity. *Conf. Schwanbeck. Megasthenes*, pp. 37, 83, 109; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 121, 150, vol. v. pp. 88, 334, vol. x. pp. 313, 319; Diodorus, lib. ii. 37.; Arrian *Indika*, c. vi., 2; Strabo. lib. xv. c. i 38; Boissonade, *Anecd. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 419; Antigonus, *Mirab.*, c. 161; Isidorus Hisp. *Orig.*, xiii. 13; Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. p. 63, and *Ind. Alterth.* (2d edit.), vol. i. p. 1017, vol. ii. p. 657; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii. pp. 313, 322, 327; Humboldt, *Asie Cent.*, tom. ii. pp. 404–412; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 435, vol. xlii. pp. 490, 503 n.

earth, flow out beneath the Tsih<sup>35</sup> rock mountain, and give rise to the river of the middle country (China).<sup>36</sup>

At the time when there is no paramount wheel-monarch, then the land of Jambudvīpa has four rulers.<sup>37</sup>

On the south "the lord of elephants;"<sup>38</sup> the land here is warm and humid, suitable for elephants.

On the west "the lord of treasures;"<sup>39</sup> the land borders on the sea, and abounds in gems.

On the north "the lord of horses;"<sup>40</sup> the country is cold and hard, suitable for horses.

On the east "the lord of men;"<sup>41</sup> the climate is soft and agreeable (*exhilarating*), and therefore<sup>42</sup> there are many men.

In the country of "the lord of elephants" the people are quick and enthusiastic, and entirely given to learning. They cultivate especially magical arts. They wear a robe<sup>43</sup> thrown

<sup>35</sup> The Tsih rock, or the mountain of "piled up stones" (*tsih-shih-shan*). This mountain is placed in my native map close to the "blue sea," in the "blue sea" district (the region of Koko-nor). It may probably correspond with the Khadatu-bulak (*rock fountain*) or the Tsaghan Ashibaatu (*white rock*) in Prejevalsky's map. Both of these are spurs of the Altyn-Tagh range of mountains. Dr. Eitel, in his *Handbook* (sub voc. *S'ito*), says that "the eastern outflux of the Anavatapta lake...loses itself in the earth, but reappears again on the Asamakuta mountains, as the source of the river Hoangho." Here, I assume, the Asamakuta mountains correspond with the *Tsih-shih-shan* of the text.

<sup>36</sup> The "River of China" is the Yellow River. Concerning its source consult Baron Richthofen's remarks on Prejevalsky's Lob Nor (p. 137, seq.) The old Chinese opinion was that the source of the river was from the Milky Way—*Tin-ho* (Mayers, p. 311). It was found afterwards that the source was in the *Sing-suh-hai*, i.e., the "starry sea," which is marked on the Chinese map, and is probably the same as the Oring-nor.

<sup>37</sup> This clause might also be rendered "when there is no wheel-king allotted to rule over Jambudvīpa, then the earth (*is divided between*) four lords."

<sup>38</sup> Gajapati, a name given to kings; also the name of an old king of the south of Jambudvīpa (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dict.* sub voc.) Abu Zaid al Hassan says this was the title given by the Chinese to the "king of the Indies" (Renaudot, *Mohamm. Trav.*) (Eng. edit, 1733), p. 53.

<sup>39</sup> Chatrapati or Chattrapa, "lord of the umbrella," a title of ancient king in Jambudvīpa (hence *Satrap*). Julien, p. lxxv. n.; Monier Williams, *sub voc.*

<sup>40</sup> Asvapati (Jul.) I have translated *king* by "hard." Julien has omitted it.

<sup>41</sup> Narapati, one of the four mythical kings of Jambudvīpa (Mon. Williams, *sub voc.*) It was assumed the dynasty ruling at Vijayanagara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Arab travellers of the ninth century say the Chinese gave this title to the emperor of China, and also to "the king of Greece" (Renaudot, *u. s.*, p. 53). Compare the Homeric epithet, *Anax andron*.

<sup>42</sup> I have taken the "therefore" to be part of this sentence, not of the next.

<sup>43</sup> This seems to me to be the meaning—"they wear a cross-scarf." Julien translates, they wear a bonnet, "pose en travers."

across them, with their right shoulder bare ; their hair is done up in a ball on the top, and left undressed on the four sides. Their various tribes occupy different towns ; their houses are built stage over stage.

In the country of "the lord of treasures" the people have no politeness or justice. They accumulate wealth. Their dress is short, with a left skirt.<sup>44</sup> They cut their hair and cultivate their moustache. They dwell in walled towns and are eager in profiting by trade.

The people of the country of "the lord of horses" are naturally (*t'ien tsz*) wild and fierce. They are cruel in disposition ; they slaughter (*animals*)<sup>45</sup> and live under large felt tents ; they divide like birds (*going here and there*) attending their flocks.

The land of "the lord of men" is distinguished for the wisdom and virtue and justice of the people. They wear a head-covering and a girdle ; the end of their dress (*girdle*) hangs to the right. They have carriages and robes according to rank ;<sup>46</sup> they cling to the soil and hardly ever change their abode ; they are very earnest in work, and divided into classes.

With respect to the people belonging to these three rulers, the eastern region is considered the best ; the doors of their dwellings open towards the east, and when the sun rises in the morning they turn towards it and salute it. In this country the south side is considered the most honourable. Such are the leading characteristics in respect of manners and customs relating to these regions.

But with regard to the rules of politeness observed between the prince and his subjects, between superiors and inferiors and with respect to laws and literature, the land of "the lord of men" is greatly in advance. The country of "the lord of elephants" is distinguished for rules which relate to purifying the heart and

<sup>44</sup> This passage seems to mean that their clothes, which are cut short, overlap to the left—literally, "short, fashion, left, overlapping" (*jin*, the place where garments overlap.—*Medhurst, Ch. Dict.*, sub *voc.*)

<sup>45</sup> So I take it. This expression *sha kuh* means "to slaughter." I do not understand Julien's "et tuent leurs semblables." There is a passage, however, quoted by Dr. Bretschneider (*Notices of the Medieval Geography, &c., of Western, Asia*, p. 114), from Rubruquis, which alludes to a custom among the Tibetans corresponding to that in Julien's translation—"post hos sunt Tebet, homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctus." But, which is not the case in the text, the barbarians are made to slay their kin in order to eat them. *Conf. Renaud Relat.*, tom. i. p. 52 ; Renaudot, *Moham. Trav* (Eng. ed., 1733), pp. 33, 46, and Remarks, p. 53 ; Rennie, *Peking*, vol. ii. p. 244 ; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 292, 302.

<sup>46</sup> Literally, carriages and robes have order or rank. It might also, without violence, be translated "(they possess) carriages and robes, and schools."



release from the ties of life and death: this is its leading excellency. With these things the sacred books and the royal decrees are occupied. Hearing the reports of the native races and diligently searching out things old and new, and examining those things which came before his eyes and ears, it is thus he (i.e., Hiuen Tsiang) obtained information.

Now Buddha having been born in the western region and his religion having spread eastwards, the sounds of the words translated have been often mistaken, the phrases of the different regions have been misunderstood on account of the wrong sounds, and thus the sense has been lost. The words being wrong, the idea has been perverted. Therefore, as it is said, "it is indispensable to have the right names, in order that there be no mistakes."

Now, men differ according to the firmness or weakness of their nature, and so the words and the sounds (*of their languages*) are unlike. This may be the result either of climate or usage. The produce of the soil differs in the same way, according to the mountains and valleys. With respect to the difference in manners and customs, and also as to the character of the people in the country of "the lord of men," the annals sufficiently explain this. In the country of "the lord of horses" and of "the lord of treasures" the (*local*) records and the proclamations explain the customs faithfully, so that a brief account can be given of them.

In the country of "the lord of elephants" the previous history of the people is little known. The country is said to be in general wet and warm, and it is also said that the people are virtuous and benevolent. With respect to the history of the country, so far as it has been preserved, we cannot cite it in detail; whether it be that the roads are difficult of access, or on account of the revolutions which have occurred, such is the case. In this way we see at least that the people only await instruction to be brought to submission, and when they have received benefit they will enjoy the blessing of civilization (*pay homage*). How difficult to recount the list of those who, coming from far, after encountering the greatest perils (*difficulties*), knock at the gem-gate<sup>47</sup> with the choice tribute of their country and pay their reverence to the emperor. Wherefore, after he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) had travelled afar in search of the law, in his moments of leisure he has preserved these records of the character of the lands (*visited*). After leaving the blackridge, the manners of the people are savage (*barbarous*). Although the barbarous tribes are intermixed one with the other, yet the

<sup>47</sup> The *gem-gate*. I should think, is the *Yuh-mun*, the western frontier of the empire, not the gate of the emperor's palace.

different races are distinguishable, and their territories have well-defined boundaries. Generally speaking, as the land suits,<sup>48</sup> they build walled towns and devote themselves to agriculture and raising cattle. They naturally hoard wealth and hold virtue and justice in light esteem. They have no marriage decorum, and no distinction of high or low. The women say, "I consent to use you as a husband and live in submission, (*and that is all*)."<sup>49</sup> When dead, they burn the body, and there is no determined period for mourning. They scar their faces and cut their ears. They crop their hair and tear their clothes.<sup>50</sup> They slay their herds and offer them in sacrifice to the manes of the dead. When rejoicing, they wear white garments; when in mourning, they clothe themselves in black. Thus we have described briefly points of agreement in the manners and customs of these people. The differences of administration depend on the different countries. With respect to the customs of India, they are contained in the following records.

Leaving the old country of Kau-chang,<sup>51</sup> from this neighbourhood there begins what is called the 'O-ki-ni country.

'O-KI-NI (*Anciently called Wu-ki*)<sup>52</sup>

The kingdom of 'O-ki-ni (Akni or Agni) is about 500 li from east to west, and about 400 li from north to south. The chief town of the realm is in circuit 6 or 7 li. On all sides it is girt with hills. The roads are precipitous and easy of defence. Numerous streams unite, and are led<sup>53</sup> in channels to irrigate the fields. The soil is suitable for red millet, winter wheat, scented dates, grapes, pears, and plums, and other fruits.

<sup>48</sup> Julien translates this "generally speaking they are sedentary."

<sup>49</sup> This sentence appears to allude to the custom of polyandry, or rather to the custom of the province of Kamul (Yule's *Marco Polo*, bk. i. ch. xli. vol. i, pp. 212, 214). It amounts to this: the woman says, "I consent whilst using you as a husband to submit," or "I consent to use you as a husband whilst dwelling under the roof." Julien translates it: "Ce sont les paroles des femmes qu'on suit; les hommes sont places audessus d'elles."

<sup>50</sup> They do all this when bereaved, that is, of their relatives, and when they mourn.

<sup>51</sup> Leaving the ancient land of Kau-chang, *i.e.*, the land which had long been occupied by the Uigurs or Turks. The route of Hsien Tsiang up to this point is detailed in his life. Leaving Liang-chau (a prefecture in Kansuh), he proceeded to Kwa-chau; he then crossed the Hulu river (Bulunghir) and advanced northward and westward through the desert. Having passed Hami and Pidshan, keeping westward, he comes to Turfan, the capital of the Uigur country. He then advances to 'O-ki-ni.

<sup>52</sup> 'O-ki-ni. This may otherwise be written *Wu-ki*. Julien writes *Yen-ki*. The symbol *ou* is said sometimes to have the sound *yen*. This country corresponds to Karshar, or Kara-shahr, near the lake Tenghiz (Bagarash).

<sup>53</sup> *Tai yin*, to carry off or lead here and there. The text means they lead the water in channels from reservoirs.

The air is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people are sincere and upright. The written character is, with few differences, like that of India. The clothing (*of the people*) is of cotton or wool. They go with shorn locks and without head-dress. In commerce they use gold coins, silver coins, and little copper coins. The king is a native of the country, he is brave, but little attentive to (*military*) plans, yet he loves to speak of his own conquests. This country has no annals. The laws are not settled. There are some ten or more *Sangharamas* with two thousand priests or so, belonging to the Little Vehicle, of the school of the Sarvastivadas (*Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po*). The doctrine of the *Sutras* and the requirements of the *Vinaya* are in agreement with those of India, and the books from which they study are the same. The professors of religion read their books and observe the rules and regulations with purity and strictness. They only eat the three pure aliments, and observe the method known as the "gradual" one.<sup>54</sup>

Going south-west from this country 200 li or so, surmounting a small mountain range and crossing two large rivers, passing westwards through a level valley some 700 li or so, we come to the country of K'iu-chi<sup>55</sup> [*anciently written Kuei-tzu*].

#### KINGDOM OF K'iu-chi (KUCHA)

The country of K'iu-chi is from east to west some thousand li or so; from north to south about 600 li. The capital of the realm is from 17 to 18 li in circuit. The soil is suitable for rice and corn, also (*a kind of rice called*) *keng-t'ao*; <sup>56</sup> it produces grapes,<sup>57</sup> pomegranates, and numerous species of plums, pears, peaches, and almonds, also grow here. The ground is rich in minerals—gold, copper, iron, and lead, and tin.<sup>58</sup> The air is soft, and the manners of the people honest. The style of writing (*literature*) is Indian, with some differences. They excel other

<sup>54</sup> The transition doctrine between the Little and Great Vehicle.

<sup>55</sup> The route here described to Kncho would agree tolerably well with that laid down on Prejevalsky's map, viz., 200 li south-west to Korla, passing two rivers (for the Balgaktaigol and the Kaidu-gol, after uniting, appear to bifurcate before reaching Karashahr), crossing a spur of the Kurugh-tagh range, and then keeping westward for about 150 miles across a level valley-plain to Kucha. See Bretschneider, *Not. Med. Geog.*, p. 149. I may observe that the pronunciation of *k'iu* in *K'iu-chi* is determined in a note, as equal to *k(u)* and (*w*) *uh*, that is *kuh*.

<sup>56</sup> A rice which is not glutinous (*Jul.*), i.e., common rice.

<sup>57</sup> The grape in Chinese is *puta'u*; this is one of the products which the earth is said to have produced naturally, and on which men (*all flesh*) fed for a period; those who took little retaining their whiteness of colour, those who ate greedily turning dark-coloured. (See in the *Chung-hu mo-ho-ti-king*, k. i. fol. 3). The similarity between this word *pu-ta'u* and the Greek *Botrus* has been pointed out by Kingsmill.

<sup>58</sup> The mistake in the text of *ming* for *yuen* is pointed out by M. Julien

countries in their skill in playing on the lute and pipe. They clothe themselves with ornamental garments of silk and embroidery.<sup>89</sup> They cut their hair and wear a flowing covering (*over their heads*). In commerce they use gold, silver, and copper coins. The king is of the K'iu-chi race; his wisdom being small, he is ruled by a powerful minister. The children born of common parents have their heads flattened by the pressure of a wooden board.<sup>90</sup>

There are about one hundred convents (*sangharamas*) in this country with five thousand and more disciples. These belong to the Little Vehicle of the school of the Sarvastivadas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po). Their doctrine (*teaching of Sutras*) and their rules of discipline (*principles of the Vinaya*) are like those of India, and those who read them use the same (*originals*). They especially hold to the customs of the "gradual doctrine," and partake only of the three pure kinds of food. They live purely, and provoke others (*by their conduct*) to a religious life.

To the north of a city on the eastern borders of the country, in front of a Deva temple, there is a great dragon-lake. The dragons, changing their form, couple with mares. The offspring is a wild species of horse (*dragon-horse*), difficult to tame and of a fierce nature. The breed of these dragon-horses became docile. This country consequently became famous for its many excellent<sup>91</sup> horses. Former records (*of this country*) say: "In late times there was a king called 'Gold Flower,' who exhibited rare intelligence in the doctrines (*of religion*). He was able to yoke the dragons to his chariot. When the king wished to disappear, he touched the ears of the dragons with his whip, and forthwith he became invisible."

From very early time till now there have been no wells in the town, so that the inhabitants have been accustomed to get water from the dragon lake. On these occasions the dragons, changing themselves into the likeness of men, had intercourse with the women. Their children, when born, were powerful and courageous, and swift of foot as the horse. Thus gradually corrupting themselves, the men all became of the dragon breed,

<sup>89</sup> They symbol *ho* sometimes means "embroidered work done by puncturing leather"—Medhurst. This seems more applicable to the passage than the other meaning of *felt* or *coarse-wool*.

<sup>90</sup> This is a well-known custom among some tribes of North American Indians.

<sup>91</sup> The word for "excellent" in the original is *shen*. There is a good deal said about these horses (called *shen*) in the account of the early intercourse of China with Turkestan (*circa* 105 B. C.) See a paper by Kingsmill in the *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiv, p. 99 n. Compare Marco Polo, bk. i, cap. 2, "excellent horses known as Turquans." &c.; also Yule's note 2, and what is said about the white mares.—Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, chap. 61, pp. 45, 46, 291.

and relying on their strength, they became rebellious and disobedient to the royal authority. Then the king, forming an alliance with the Tuh-kiuch (Turks),<sup>63</sup> massacred the men of the city; young and old, all were destroyed, so that there was no remnant left; the city is now a waste and uninhabited.

About 40 li to the north of this desert city there are two convents close together on the slope of a mountain, but separated by a stream of water,<sup>64</sup> both named Chau-hu-li, being situated east and west of one another, and accordingly so called.<sup>64</sup> (*Here there is*) a statue of Buddha,<sup>65</sup> richly adorned and carved with skill surpassing that of men. The occupants of the convents are pure and truthful, and diligent in the discharge of their duties. In (*the hall of*) the eastern convent, called the Buddha pavilion, there is a jade stone, with a surface of about two feet in width, and of a yellowish white colour; in shape it is like a sea-shell; on its surface is a foot trace of Buddha, 1 foot 8 inches long, and eight inches or so in breadth; at the expiration of every fast-day it emits a bright and sparkling light.

Outside the western gate of the chief city, on the right and left side of the road, there are (*two*) erect figures of Buddha, about 90 feet high. In the space in front of these statues there is a place erected for the quinquennial<sup>66</sup> assembly. Every year at the autumnal equinox, during ten several days, the priests assemble from all the country in this place. The king and all his people, from the highest to the lowest, on this occasion abstain from public business, and observe a religious fast; they listen to the sacred teaching of the law, and pass the days without weariness.

<sup>63</sup> The Tuh-kiuch, or Turks, are the same as the Hiung-nu or Karan'rus, who drove the Yü-chi or Yü-ti (Viddhals) from the neighbourhood of the Chinese frontier (*J. R. A. S.* loc. cit. p. 77); they are to be distinguished from the Tokhari, who overran the Græco-Bactrian kingdom and were driven thence by the Viddhals, who had fled before the Hiung-nu, attacked the Tokhari from the west (p. 81). See note 121 *infra*.

<sup>64</sup> So I think the passage must be translated. It is not the mountain that is divided by a stream, but the convents which stand on the slope of the mountain. The mountain, therefore, would slope to the north or south, and the convents stand east and west of one another, with a stream between them.

<sup>65</sup> That is, called the Eastern "Chau-hu-li" and the Western "Chau-hu-li." The expression *chau-hu-li*, although perfectly intelligible, is difficult to translate. The symbol *li* probably means a "pair" or "couple;" *chau-hu* means "supported, or dependent on, the brightness of the sun." The title, therefore, would be "bright-supported pair," referring, of course, to their receiving the eastern and western light of the sun respectively.

<sup>66</sup> I do not think there are two images; the text says, "the image of Buddha exquisitely adorned," &c.

<sup>67</sup> Called Panchavarsha or Panchavarshika, and instituted by Asoka.—*Jul.* See note 178 *inf.*

In all the convents there are highly adorned images of Buddha, decorated with precious substances and covered with silken stuffs. These they carry (*on stated occasions*) in idoll-cars, which they call the "procession of images." On these occasions the people flock by thousands to the place of assembly.

On the fifteenth and last day of the month the king of the country and his ministers always consult together respecting affairs of state, and after taking counsel of the chief priests, they publish their decrees.

To the north-west of the meeting-place we cross a river and arrive at a convent called 'O-she-li-ni.'<sup>67</sup> The hall of this temple is open and spacious. The image of Buddha is beautifully carved. The disciples (*religious*) are grave and decorous and very diligent in their duties; rude and rough (*men*)<sup>68</sup> come here together; the aged priests are learned and of great talent, and so from distant spots the most eminent men who desire to acquire just principles come here and fix their abode. The king and his ministers and the great men of the realm offer to these priests the four sorts of provision, and their celebrity spreads farther and farther.

The old records say: "A former<sup>69</sup> king of his country worshipped the 'three precious' ones."<sup>70</sup> Wishing to pay homage to the sacred relics of the outer world, he intrusted the affairs of the empire to his younger brother on the mother's side. The younger brother having received such orders, mutilated himself in order to prevent any evil risings<sup>71</sup> (*of passion*). He enclosed the mutilated parts in a golden casket, and laid it before the king. 'What is this?' inquired the king. In reply he said, 'On the day of your majesty's return home, I pray you open it and see.' The king gave it to the manager of his affairs, who intrusted the casket to a portion of the king's bodyguard to keep. And now, in the end, there were certain mischief-making people who said, 'The king's deputy, in his absence, has been debauching himself in the inner rooms of the women.' The king hearing this, was very angry, and would have subjected his brother to cruel punishment. The brother said, 'I dare not flee from punishment, but I pray you open the golden casket.' The king accordingly opened it, and saw that it contained a mutilated

<sup>67</sup> 'O-she-li-ni, according to the Ch. text, means "extraordinary" or "unique;" it may possibly be intended for Asadharana.

<sup>68</sup> So it seems to mean, *fei tai ping shi*, "criminals and rude (*men*) come together here."

<sup>69</sup> I translate the symbol *sien* by "former" or "previous;" not by "first" or "the first." It appears to refer to a past king, indefinite as to time.

<sup>70</sup> Buddha, the law, the community.

<sup>71</sup> Or, "evil suspicions."

member. Seeing it, he said, 'What strange thing is this, and what does it signify?' Replying, the brother said, 'Formerly, when the king proposed to go abroad, he ordered me to undertake the affairs of the government. Fearing the slanderous reports that might arise, I mutilated myself. You now have the proof of my foresight. Let the king look benignantly on me.' The king was filled with the deepest reverence and strangely moved with affection; in consequence, he permitted him free ingress and egress throughout his palace.<sup>72</sup>

"After this it happened that the younger brother, going abroad, met by the way a herdsman who was arranging to geld five hundred oxen. On seeing this, he gave himself to reflection, and taking himself as an example of what they were to suffer, he was moved with increased compassion, (*and said*). 'Are not my present sufferings'<sup>73</sup> the consequence of my conduct in some former condition of life?' He forthwith desired with money and precious jewels to redeem this herd of oxen. In consequence of this act of love, he recovered by degrees from mutilation, and on this account he ceased to enter the apartments of the women. The king, filled with wonder, asked him the reason of this, and having heard the matter from beginning to end, looked on him as a 'prodigy' (*khi-teh*), and from this circumstance the convent took its name, which he built to honour the conduct of his brother and perpetuate his name."

After quitting this country and going about 600 li to the west traversing a small sandy desert, we come to the country of poh-luh-kia,

#### POH-LUH-KIA [BALUKA OR AKSU]

(Formerly called *Che-meh* or *Kih-meh*).<sup>74</sup>

The kingdom of Poh-luh-kia is about 600 li from east to west, and 300 li or so from north to south. The chief town is 5 or 6 li in circuit. With regard to the soil, climate, character of the people, the customs, and literature (laws of composition), these are the same as in the country of K'iu-chi. The language (*spoken language*) differs however a little. It produces a fine sort

<sup>72</sup> Inner palace. palace of the women, "the harem."

<sup>73</sup> My present mutilated form.

<sup>74</sup> *Kih-meh* doubtless represents the *Kou-me* of Julien (see the *Memoire Analytique* by V. St. Martin, *Mem. s. l. Contr. Occid.* tom. ii. p. 265); it was formerly the eastern portion of the kingdom of Aksu. The name Poh-lu-keia or Baluka is said to be derived from a Turkish tribe which "in the fourth century of our era occupied the north-western parts of Kansu.—*Ibid.* p. 266. The modern town of Aksu is 56 geog. miles E. from Ush-turfan, in lat. 41° 12' N., long. 79° 30' E. Aksu is 156 Eng. miles in a direct line W.S.W. from Kucha, which is in lat. 41° 38' N., long. 83° 25' E. on Col. Walker's map.

of cotton and hair-cloth, which are highly valued by neighbouring (frontier) countries.

There are some ten *sangharamas* here; the number of priests (priests and followers) is about one thousand. These follow the teaching of the "Little Vehicle," and belong to the school of the Sarvastivādas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po).<sup>74</sup>

Going 300 li or so to the north-west of this country, crossing a stony desert, we come to Ling-shan<sup>75</sup> (*ice mountain*). This is, in fact, the northern plateau of the T'sung-ling range.<sup>76</sup> and from this point the waters mostly have an eastern flow. Both hills and valleys are filled with snowpiles, and it freezes both in spring and summer; if it should thaw for a time, the ice soon forms again. The roads are steep and dangerous, the cold wind is extremely biting, and frequently fierce dragons impede and molest travellers with their inflictions.<sup>78</sup> Those who travel this road should not wear red garments nor carry loud-sounding<sup>79</sup> calabashes. The least forgetfulness of these precautions entails certain misfortune. A violent wind suddenly rises with storms of flying sand and gravel; those who encounter them, sinking through exhaustion, are almost sure to die.

<sup>74</sup> The school of the Sarvastivādas; one of the early schools of Buddhism, belonging to the Little Vehicle, i.e., the Hinayana, or the imperfect mode of conveyance. This early form of Buddhism, according to Chinese accounts, contemplated only the deliverance of a portion of the world, viz, the Sangha or society; the Mahayana or complete (*great*) mode of conveyance, on the other hand, taught a universal deliverance. The Sarvastivādas believed in "the existence of things," opposed to idealism. Burnouf, *Introd.* (2d edit.) p. 397; Vassilief, *Bouddh.*, pp. 57, 78, 113, 243, 245.

<sup>75</sup> Ling-shan, called by the Mongols "Musur-aola," with the same meaning.—V. de St. Martin, p. 266.

<sup>76</sup> I translate it thus, because it agrees with Hwui lih's account in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, although it may also be rendered "this is (or, these mountains are) to the north of the Tsung-ling. The waters of the plateau," &c. The T'sung-ling mountains are referred to in the Twelfth Book; they are called Tsung, either because the land produces a great quantity of onions (*t'sung*), or because of the blue (*green?*) colour of the mountain sides. On the south they join the great Snowy Mountains; on the north they reach to the "hot-sea," i.e., the Tsing lake, of which he next speaks. So that the Ice Mountains form the northern plateau of the range. The rivers which feed the Tarim do, in fact, take their rise here. *Conf. Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. p. 344; Wood's *Oxus*, p. xl.

<sup>78</sup> The inflictions or calamities alluded to are the sand and gravel storms, referred to below.

<sup>79</sup> Or, it may be "ought not to carry calabashes nor shout loudly." Perhaps the reason why calabashes are forbidden is that the water freezing in them might cause them to burst with a loud sound, which would cause the "snow piles" to fall. Why "red garments" should be interdicted is not so plain, unless dragons are enraged by that colour.



Going 400 li or so, we come to the great Tsing lake.<sup>80</sup> This lake is about 1000 li in circuit, extended from east to west, and narrow from north to south. On all sides it is enclosed by mountains, and various streams empty themselves into it and are lost. The colour of the water is a bluish-black, its taste is bitter and salt. The waves of this lake roll along tumultuously as they expend themselves (*on the shores*). Dragons and fishes inhabit it together. At certain (*portentous*) occasions scaly monsters rise to the surface, on which travellers passing by put up their prayers for good fortune. Although the water animals are numerous, no one dares (*or ventures*) to catch them by fishing.

Going 500 li or so to the north-west of the Tsing lake, we arrive at the town of the Su-yeh river.<sup>81</sup> This town is about 6 or 7 li in circuit; here the merchants from surrounding countries congregate and dwell.

The soil is favourable for red millet and for grapes, the woods are not thick, the climate is windy and cold; the people wear garments of twilled wool.

Passing on from Su-yeh westward, there are a great number<sup>82</sup> of deserted towns; in each there is a chieftain (*or over each there is established a chief*); these are not dependent on one another, but all are in submission to the Tuh-kiueh.

From the town of the Su-yeh river as far as the Ki-shwang-na<sup>83</sup> country the land is called Su-li, and the people are called by the same name. The literature (*written characters*) and the spoken language are likewise so called. The primary characters are few; in the beginning they were thirty<sup>84</sup> or so in number:

<sup>80</sup> The Tsing (limpid) lake is the same as Issyk-kul, or Temurtu. It is 5200 feet above the sea-level. It is called *Jo-hai*, "the hot sea," not because its waters are warm, but because when viewed from the Ice Mountain, it appears hot by comparison (note in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*). The direction is not given here; but from Aksu to Issyk-kul is about 110 English miles to the north-east. Conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, note 57, p. 37; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxix. pp. 318 ff., vol. xl. pp. 250, 344, 375-399, 449.

<sup>81</sup> That is, the town of Su-yeh, situated on the river Chu or Chui. Hwui-lih also calls it the town of Su yeh (k. ii. fol. 4 a). The same symbol (*yeh*) is used both in the *Si-yu-ki*, and the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*. The site of this town is not now known (vid. Vde St. Martin, *ut sup.*, p. 271). It may be the present *Constantinovsk*, or perhaps Belasagun, the capital of the Karakhitai, on the river Chu. Conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, note 37, p. 36; *Chin. Med. Trav.*, p. 50, 114; *Trans. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, 1871, vol. ii. p. 265.

<sup>82</sup> Several tens.

<sup>83</sup> Kasanna (Jul.) It is the modern Kesh, in lat. 39° 4' N., long. 66° 50' E. In Eitel's *Handbook* (sub *Kachania*) it is said to be the region near Kermína. See note 116 *infra*.

<sup>84</sup> So my copy has it; Julien translates it *thirty-two*.

the words are composed by the combination of these; these combinations have produced a large and varied vocabulary.<sup>86</sup> They have some literature,<sup>86</sup> which the common sort read together; their mode of writing is handed down from one master to another without interruption, and is thus preserved. Their inner clothing is made of a fine hair-cloth (liner); their outer garments are of skin, their lower garments of linen, short and tight.<sup>87</sup> They adjust their hair so as to leave the top of the head exposed (*that is*, they shave the top of their heads). Sometimes they shave their hair completely. They wear a silken band round their foreheads. They are tall of stature, but their wills are weak and pusillanimous. They are as a rule crafty and deceitful in their conduct and extremely covetous. Both parent and child plan how to get wealth; and the more they get the more they esteem each other; but the well-to-do and the poor are not distinguished; even when immensely rich, they feed and clothe themselves meanly. The strong bodied cultivate the land; the rest (*half*) engage in money-getting (*business*).

Going west from the town Su-yeh 400 li or so, we come to the "Thousand springs."<sup>88</sup> This territory is about 200 li square. On the south are the Snowy Mountains, on the others (*three boundaries*) is level tableland. The soil is well watered; the trees afford a grateful shade, and the flowers in the spring months are varied and like tapestry. There are a thousand springs of water and lakes here, and hence the name. The Khan of the Tuh-kiueh comes to this place every (*year*) to avoid the heat. There are a number of deer here, many of which are ornamented with bells and rings;<sup>89</sup> they are tame and not afraid of the people, nor do they run away. The Khan is very fond of them, and has forbidden them to be killed on pain of death without remission; hence they are preserved and live out their days.

<sup>86</sup> Literally, "the flowing forth from these gradually become large and varied."

<sup>86</sup> "Some historical records" (*Shuki*); or, it may be, "they have books and records."

<sup>87</sup> This difficult passage seems to mean that they use linen as an article of clothing; that their upper garments (jackets or jerkins) are of leather; their breeches are of linen, made short and tight.

<sup>88</sup> That is, Myn-bulak (Bingheul), a country with innumerable lakes.—Eitel. Myn-bulak lies to the north of the road from Aulie-ata to Tersa; the high mountains to which it elings are the Urtak-tau. "The Kirghizes, even now, consider Mynbulak to be the best place for summer encampment between the Chu and Syr-Daria." "Here there is good pasturage, with a dense and succulent herbage, and there are numerous clear springs."—Severtsof, *J. R. G. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 367-369.

<sup>89</sup> Probably the "rings" (*hwan*) refer to neck-collars,

Going from the Thousand springs westward 140 or 150 li, we come to the town of Ta-lo-sse (Taras).<sup>90</sup> This town is 8 or 9 li in circuit; merchants from all parts assemble and live here with the natives (Tartars). The products and the climate are about the same as Su-yeh.

Going 10 li or so to the south, there is a little deserted town. It had once about 300 houses, occupied by people of China. Some time ago the inhabitants were violently carried off by the Tuh-kiueh, but afterwards assembling a number of their countrymen, they occupied this place in common.<sup>91</sup> Their clothes being worn out, they adopted the Turkish mode of dress, but they have preserved their own native language and customs.

Going 200 li or so south-west from this, we come to the town called Peh-shwui ("White Water,"<sup>92</sup> This town is 6 or 7 li in circuit. The products of the earth and the climate are very superior to those of Ta-lo-sse.

Going 200 li or so to the south-west, we arrive at the town of K o n g-y u,<sup>93</sup> which is about 5 or 6 li in circuit. The plain on

<sup>90</sup> M. Viv. de St. Martin has remarked, in his *Memoire Analytique* (Jul., *Mem.*, tom. ii, pp. 267-273), that the distance from Lake Issykkul to Taras or Talas (which he places at the town of Turkistan, by the Jaxartes river), is too short by 1000 li; or, in other words, that from Su-yeh to the "Thousand springs" (Bingheul or Myo-hulak), instead of 400 li, should be 1400 li. The same writer explains that in Kiepert's map of Turkistan there is a locality called Myn-hulak in the heights above the town of Turkistan, about a dozen leagues east from it. This would agree with the 140 or 150 li of Huien Tsiang. But see notes 93 and 95 below, and conf. Bretschneider's valuable note, *Med. Geog.*, p. 37, and *Notes on Chin. Med. Trav.*, pp. 34, 75, 114; Klaproth, *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.*, tom. xii, p. 283; Deguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii, p. 500, tom. iii, pp. 219, 229; Yule's *Cathay*, p. clxv; Wood's *Oxus*, p. xlii; Rubruquis, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Mem.*, tom iv, pp. 279, 280.

<sup>91</sup> The little deserted town alluded to in the text is named elsewhere (St Martin, *Memoires sur l' Armenie*, tom, ii, p. 118). We gather from Huien Tsiang that the inhabitants were originally captives, carried off from China by the Turks, who assembled and formed a community in this place.

<sup>92</sup> The town called "Whit Water" is the Isfijab of Persiao writers according to V. de St Martin, p. 274,

<sup>93</sup> The bearing *south-west* in this and the preceding case from Turkistan (if, with Julien, we identified that town with Tams) would take us over the Jaxartes and away from Tashkand (Che-shi). In the tabular statement given by St. Martin (p. 274) the bearings and distances are as follows:—From Ta-lo-sse to Pehshwui, 200 li to the south; Peh-shwui to Kong-yu, 200 li southerly; Kong-yu to Nu-chih-kien, 50 li south; Nu-chih-kien to Che-shi, 200 li west. But the bearing from Taras to the "White Water" (Peh-shwui) is south-west, and from the "White Water" to Kong-yo is again south-west. We have then a short distance of 50 li to the south to Nuchih-kien, after which there are 200 li west to Tashkand. Working back from Tashkand, which appears to be a *certain* point according to the distances and bearings given, we reach to about the River Talas, far to the eastward of Turki-

which it stands is well watered and fertile, and the verdure of the trees grateful and pleasing. From this going south 40 or 50 li, we come to the country of Nu-chih-kien.

### NU-CHIH-KIEN [NUJKEND]

The country of Nu-chih-kien<sup>94</sup> is about 1000 li in circuit; the land is fertile, the harvests are abundant, the plants and trees are rich in vegetation, the flowers and fruits plentiful and agreeable in character. This country is famous for its grapes. There are some hundred towns which are governed by their own separate rulers. They are independent in all their movements. But though they are so distinctly divided one from the other, they are all called by the general name of Nu-chih-kien.

Going hence about 200 li west, we come to the country of Chh-shi (*stony country*).

### CHE-SHI [CHAI]

The country of Che-shi<sup>95</sup> is 1000 or so li in circuit. On the west it borders on the river Yeh.<sup>96</sup> It is contracted towards the

stan. If Aulie-ata on the Talas (lat. 43°55' N., long. 71°24' E., and 110 geog. miles from the river Chu) be his Ta-lo-sse, then his route would lie across the head waters of the Karagati—a feeder of the Chu, and of the Jar-su—an affluent of the Talas, where we should place the Thousand Springs. But Myn-hulak is to the west of the Talas on the way to Tersa (35 miles west of Aulicata), which may be Ta-lo-sse. From Tersa, on a river of the same name which flows between Myn-hulak and the Urtak-tau hills, his route must have been to the south-west, either by Chemkent to Tashkand—the same route as was afterwards followed by Chenghiz Khan; or he must have gone over the Aksai hills, on the road to Namangan, into the valley of the Chatkal or Upper Chirchik, and so south-west and then west to Tashkand. Myn-hulak, however, is north-east of Tersa, not east. See Severtsof's account of the country from Lake Issyk-kul to Tashkand in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 353-358, 363-370, &c., also p. 410. The site of Kong-yu has not been ascertained.

<sup>94</sup> Called Nejkaht by Edrisi.—V. St. Martin, p. 276. Conf. Quatremere, *Not. et Extr. des MSS.*, tom. xiii. p. 259. But the identification of Taras in note 93 leads us to seek Nu-chih-kien on the Chatkal, to the east of Tashkand.

<sup>95</sup> That is, Tashkand, which means in Turkish the "tower" or "residence of (*tash*) stone" (V. St. Martin, p. 276 n.), corresponding with the explanation in the text. Compare *Althinos purgos* of Ptolemy, *Geog.* I. xi. 4, 6, xii. 1, 3, 9, 10; VI. xiii. 2; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 269; Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Baber* (edit. 1826), pp. xl. 99, 102; Deguignes, *Hist. G. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 497, tom. v. pp. 26, 31; Ritter, *Asien*, vol. v. 570; Klaproth, *Magaz. Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 31; and Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 159, 160. It is in lat. 41° 19' N., long. 69° 15' E., and in H. Moll's map (1702) is called Al-Chach, and placed 155 miles south-west from "Taras or Dahalan." Rawlinson identifies *Althinos purgos* with Tash-kurghan and with Kie-cha of Fahien.—*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 503. Yule, however, doubts this: Wood's *Oxus*, int. pp. xxxix., xl.

<sup>96</sup> The River Yeh, i.e., the Sihun, Syr-daria, or Jaxartes.

east and west, and extended towards the north and south. The products and climate are like those of Nu-chih-kein.

There are some ten towns in the country, each governed by its own chief; as there is no common sovereign over them, they are all under the yoke of the Tuh-kiuch. From this in a south-easterly direction some 1000 li or so, there is a country called Fei-han.

#### FEI-HAN [FERGHANAH]<sup>97</sup>

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit. It is enclosed by mountains on every side. The soil is rich and fertile, it produces many harvests, and abundance of flowers and fruits. It is favourable for breeding sheep and horses. The climate is windy and cold. The character of the people is one of firmness and courage. Their language differs from that of the neighbouring countries. Their form is rather poor and mean. For ten years or so the country has had no supreme ruler. The strongest rule by force, and are independent one of another. They divide their separate possessions according to the run of the valleys, and mountain barriers. Going from this country<sup>98</sup> westward for 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Su-tu-li-sse-na.

#### SU-TU-LI-SSE-NA [SUTRISHNA]

The country of Su-tu-li-sse-na<sup>99</sup> is some 1400 or 1500 li in circuit. On the east it borders on the Yeh river (Jaxartes). This river has its source in the northern plateau of the Tsung-ling

<sup>97</sup> The distance, about 200 miles south-east of Tashkand, takes us to the upper waters of the Jaxartes, the actual Khanate of Khokand. The pilgrim did not himself go there, but writes from report.

<sup>98</sup> Hieun Tsiang did not go to Ferghanah. The symbol used is *chi*, not *hing*. This will explain why the writer of the *Life of Hieun Tsiang* (Hwui-lib) omits all mention of Ferghanah, and takes the pilgrim west from Tashkand to Su-tu-li-sse-na, 1000 li. So that in the text we are to reckon 1000 li (200 miles approximately) not from Khokand, but from Tashkand. It must be remembered that the kingdom or country of Su-tu-li-sse-na is spoken of, not a town.

<sup>99</sup> Sutrishna (Satrughna, also called Ustrush, Ustrushta, Seirushta, and Isterushan) or Ustrushna is a country "well known to Arabian geographers, situated between Ferghanah and Samarkand."—V. St. Martin, p. 278. It is described in the text as bordering on the Jaxartes on the east; we may suppose, therefore, that this river was its eastern boundary. It is said to be 1500 li in circuit; we may place the western boundary, therefore, some 500 li to the west of Khojend. This limit would meet the requirements of the text, where the country is described as reaching 1000 li west from Tashkand. Of course west means to the west of south-west. The town of Sutrishna is now represented by Ura-Tape, Uratippa or Ura-tube, which is some 40 miles south-west from Khojend and 100 miles south-west from Tashkand (lat. 39. 57 No., long. 69.57 E.) The Syrdaria, Sibun or Jaxartes, however, is to the north of Uratube. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 261; *Ariana Antiq.*, p. 162; Edrisi (Joubert's transl.), tom. ii. pp. 203, 206; Baber's *Memoirs*, pp. xii, 9.

range, and flows to the north-west; sometimes it rolls its muddy waters along in quiet, at other times with turbulence. The products and customs of the people are like those of Che-shi. Since it has had a king, it has been under the rule of the Turks.

North-west<sup>100</sup> from this we enter on a great sandy desert, where there is neither water nor grass. The road is lost in the waste, which appears boundless, and only by looking in the direction of some great mountain, and following the guidance of the bones which lie scattered about, can we know the way in which we ought to go.

### SA-MO-KIEN [SAMARKAND]

The country of Sa-mo-kien<sup>101</sup> is about 1600 or 1700 li in circuit. From east to west it is extended; from north to south it is contracted. The capital of the country is 20 li or so in circuit. It is completely enclosed by rugged land and very populous. The precious merchandise of many foreign countries is stored up here. The soil is rich and productive, and yields abundant harvests. The forest trees afford a thick vegetation, and flowers and fruits are plentiful. The *Shen* horses are bred here. The inhabitants are skilful in the arts and trades beyond those of other countries. The climate is agreeable and temperate. The people are brave and energetic. This country is in the middle of the Hu people (or this is the middle of the Hu).<sup>102</sup> They are copied by all surrounding people in point of politeness and propriety. The king is full of courage, and the neighbouring countries obey his commands. The soldiers are the horses (*cavalry*) are strong and numerous; and principally

<sup>100</sup> Here again there is no intimation that Hiuen Tsiang traversed this desert. It is merely stated that there is such a desert on the north-west of the kingdom of Sutrishna. It is the desert of Kizil-kum. There is no occasion, therefore, to change the direction given in the text. (See Julien's note *in loco*). Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 435, 438, 445.

<sup>101</sup> Called in Chinese the Kang country, *i.e.*, the peaceful or blessed country. Samarkand (lat. 39° 49' N., long. 67° 18' E.) is probably the *Marakanda* of Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. iii. c. 30, and iv. c. 5; Q. Curtius, lib. viii. c. 1, 20; Ptol. *Geog. lib. vi. c. 11, 9*; viii. 23, 10; Strabo, lib. xi. c. 11, 4; conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 27, 60, 162—165; *Chin. Med. Trav.*, pp. 23, 38, 48, 76, 116; Palladius, *Chinese Recorder*, vol. vi. p. 108; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 738; Wilson's *Ariana Antiq.*, p. 165; Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 191 f. ii. pp. 456, 460; *Cathay*, pp. cxxx, ccxlv, and 192; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. vi. p. 93; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tom. ix. pp. 47, 70; Deguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 49; Gaubil, *H. de Gutchiscan*, p. 37; Sprenger, *Post und Reise Routen*, p. 20; Baber's *Mem.*, p. xxxvi; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 232—233, 248—278; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 453—462. Conf. the "Kang-dez" of the *Vendidad Bundahis*.

<sup>102</sup> A term applied to the foreign-speaking (Tartar) people by some Chinese authors.

men of Chih-kia.<sup>103</sup> These men of Chih-kia are naturally brave and fierce, and meet death as a refuge (*escape or salvation*). When they attack, no enemy can stand before them. From this going south-east, there is a country called Mi-mo-bo.<sup>104</sup>

#### MI-MO-HO [MAGHIAN]

The country Mi-mo-ho<sup>105</sup> is about 400 or 500 li in circuit. It lies in the midst of a valley. From east to west it is narrow, and broad from north to south. It is like Sa-mo-kien in point of the customs of the people and products. From this going north, we arrive at the country K'ie-po-ta-na.<sup>106</sup>

#### K'IE-PO-TA-NA [KEBUD]

The country of K'ie-po-ta-na<sup>107</sup> is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit. It is broad from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It is like Sa-mo-kien in point of customs and products. Going about 300 li to the west (*of Samarkanda*), we arrive at K'ieh-shwang-ni-kia.

#### K'IEH-SHWANG-NI-KIA [KASHANIA]

The kingdom of K'ieh-shwang-ni-kia<sup>108</sup> is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; narrow from east to west, broad from north to south. It resembles Sa-mo-kien in point of customs and products. Going 200 li or so west from this country, we arrive at the Hohan country.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>103</sup> These Chakas would seem to be the people of Chaghanian, who were evidently a warlike people.—*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. vi. p. 102.

<sup>104</sup> The rice country.—Ch. Ed.

<sup>105</sup> Here we observe again that Hiuen Tsiang did not visit Mi-mo-ho, but simply gives a report of it. This place probably corresponds with the district of Maghian (lat. 39° 16' N., long. 67° 42' E). 50 miles south-east of Samarkand.—Meyendorf, *Voyage a Boukhara*, pp. 161, 493; *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 449—451, 460, 461; and vol. xliii. pp. 263 ff., with Fedchenko's map of the district.

<sup>106</sup> The country of people in numbers.—Ch. Ed.

<sup>107</sup> This district of Kebut-Mehket, Kebut, or Keshbud, is named by the Arabian geographers (*vid.* V. de St. Martin, *Memoire Analytique*, p. 281), but its situation is not given. M. V. de St. Martin places it in a north-westerly direction from Samarkand (*vid.* Jul. note *in loco*), but his calculation is founded on a misconception. Hiuen Tsiang does not reckon from this place to K'ieh-shwang-ni-kia, but from Samarkand. This is plain from the use of the word *hing*, and also from Hwui-lih (p. 60).—Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 279; Baber's *Memoirs*, p. 85.

<sup>108</sup> In Chinese "What country?" Kashania, described as a beautiful and important town of Soghd, half way between Samarkand and Bokhara. This exactly suits the text, which places it 300 li (60 miles) west of Samarkand.—Istakhri, Mordtmann's *Transl.*, p. 131; Edrisi, tom. ii. pp. 199, 201; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.* p. 253; Abu'l-feda, *Choras. et Movar. Desc.*, p. 48.

<sup>109</sup> Eastern repose.—Ch. Ed.

HO-HAN [KUAN]<sup>110</sup>

This country is about 1000 li in circuit; in point of customs and products it resembles Sa-mo-kien. Going west from here, we come, after 400 li or so, to the country of Pu-ho.<sup>111</sup>

PU-HO [BOKHARA]

The Pu-ho<sup>112</sup> country is 1600 or 1700 li in circuit; it is broad from east to west, and narrow from north to south. In point of climate and products it is like Sa-mo-kien. Going west from this 400 li or so, we come to the country Fa-ti.<sup>113</sup>

FA-TI [BETIK]<sup>114</sup>

This country is 400 li or so in circuit. In point of customs and produce it resembles Sa-mo-kien. From this going south-west 500 li or so, we come to the country Ho-li-sih-mi-kia.

HO-LI-SIH-MI-KIA [KHWARAZM]

This country lies parallel with<sup>115</sup> the banks of the river Po-tsu (Oxus). From east to west it is 20 or 30 li, from north

<sup>110</sup> The part of the river of Sogdh (Zarafshan) which waters the territory round Bokhara is called Kuan (V. de St. Martin, p. 282). We observe that Hiuen Tsiang went to Kashania, and there we leave him; the accounts now given are hearsay. Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, int. pp. ccxx-cxxiv; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 502 n.; Darmesteter's *Zend-Avesta*, vol. ii. p. 67 n.

<sup>111</sup> Middle repose country.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>112</sup> Pu-ho is probably Bokhara; the distance of course is too great, unless we consider the reference to be to the limits of the country. The symbols used by Hwui-lih are the same as in the *Si-yu-ki*; Julien has misled V. St. Martin by writing "*Pou-kho*." Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 432; Baber's *Mem.*, p. 38; Moorcroft and Trebeck's *Travels*; Wolff's *Mission*; &c.

<sup>113</sup> Western repose country.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>114</sup> Fa-ti is no doubt Betik. The distance from Pu-ho in the text differs from that given by Hwui-lih; the latter gives 100 li, which is doubtless correct. The whole distance from Samarkand west to the Oxus would thus be 1000 li, which corresponds to 200 miles, the actual measurement. The importance of Betik is derived from its being the most usual place of passage over the river by those going from Bokhara to Khorasan.

<sup>115</sup> Ho-li-sih-mi-kia corresponds with Khwarazm. It is the Khorasmia of Strabo, lib. xi. c. 8 (p. 513), Pliny, vi. 16. Pharasmanes, king of the Khorasmii, came to Alexander with 1500 horsemen and said that his kingdom was "next to the nation of the Kolkhi and the Amazon women." —Arrian, *Anab.*, lib. iv. 15; conf. Herodotus, lib. iii. 93, 117; Ptolemy, *Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 12, 4; Q. Curt., vii. 4, viii. 1; Dionys. Per., 746; Steph. Byz. *sub voc.*; Baher, *Mem.*, p. xxxi. The hearing south-west in the text is west in Hwui-lih. The distance 500 li is the same in both. M. Viv. de St. Martin suggests north-west as the hearing, and adds that Hwui-lih makes the distance 100 li (*Memoire*, p. 283, n. 1). This is a mistake. For notices respecting the power of the Khwarizmian empire and the proceedings of Chenghiz Khan in destroying it;—vid. R. K. Douglas, *Life of Jenghiz Khan*, pp. xv. seq. It is true that Hiuen Tsiang says that



to south 500 li or so. In point of customs and produce it resembles the country of Fa-ti; the language, however, is a little different.

From the country of Sa-mo-kien<sup>116</sup> going south-west 300 li or so, we come to Ki-shwang-na.<sup>117</sup>

#### KI-SHWANG-NA [KRSH]<sup>118</sup>

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; in customs and produce it resembles the kingdom of Sa-bo-kien.

From this place going south-west 200 li or so, we enter the mountains; the mountain road is steep and precipitous, and the passage along the defiles dangerous and difficult. There are no people or villages, and little water or vegetation. Going along the mountains 300 li or so south-east, we enter the Iron Gates.<sup>119</sup> The pass so called is bordered in the right and left by mountains. These mountains are of prodigious height. The road is narrow, which adds to the difficulty and danger. On both sides there is a rocky wall of an iron colour. Here there are set up double wooden doors, strengthened with iron and furnished with many bells hung up. Because of the protection afforded to the pass by these doors, when closed, the name of *iron gates* is given.

Passing through the Iron Gates we arrive at the country

Khwarazm runs parallel to both banks of the Oxus. But as Hwui-lih says it is bounded on the east by the Oxus, I think the symbol *liang* (two) is a mistake for *si* (west), in which case the text would make the country parallel to the west bank of the Oxus.

<sup>116</sup> The pilgrim now takes us back to the country of Samarkand; he reckons 300 li in a south-west direction to Kesh. The reckoning, I think, is from Kashania, where we left him; this was probably the western limit of the kingdom of Samarkand. Kesh or Shahr-sahz (39° 2' N., 66° 53' E.) lies due south-west from this point about 70 miles. Baher's *Memoirs*, pp. 36 and 54; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xi p. 460; D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.*, p. 238; and see note 83 *supra*.

<sup>117</sup> Country of historians.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>118</sup> Hwui-lih also gives Ki-shwangna as the name of this country (conf. V. St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 283, n. 3).

<sup>119</sup> The iron gates, Kohlughah or Kalugah (Mong. "a barrier"), a mountain pass about 90 miles south-south-east from Samarkand, 50 miles south-east from Kesh, and 8 miles west of Derbent, in lat. 38° 11' N., long. 66° 54' E.

The distance and bearing from Kesh given in the text is south-west 200 li + south-east 300 li, which would give about the right distance in a straight line. These Iron Gates are marked on the Chinese maps; they are called *tieh men to*, i.e., the iron-gate-island (or eminence) from which the Muh-ho (Amu) flows. There has been some confusion between this place and the iron gates at Derbent on the Caspian, called by the Turks *Demir Kapi*; compare Yule's *Marco Polo* (book i. cap. iv), vol. i. pp. 32 and notes, pp. 55—58; and vol. ii. pp. 494, 495, 537. M. V. de St. Martin (*Memoire*, p. 284) says that the pilgrim "indicates the beginning of the mountains at 200 li to the south-east of Ki-shwang-na, and the defile properly so called at 300 li farther on, in the same direction." But this is not so; the first bearing is *south-west*, then through the mountains

of the Tu-ho-lo.<sup>120</sup> This country, from north to south, is about 1000 li or so in extent, from east to west 3000 li or so. On the east it is bounded by the T'sung-ling mountains, on the west it touches on Po-li-sse (Persia), on the south are the great Snowy Mountains, on the north the Iron Gates.<sup>121</sup> The great river Oxus flows through the midst of the country in a westerly direction. For many centuries past the royal race has been extinct. The several chieftains have by force contended for their possessions, and each held their own independently, only relying upon the natural divisions of the country. Thus they have constituted twenty-seven states,<sup>122</sup> divided by natural boundaries, yet as a whole dependent on the Tukhieh tribes (Turks). The climate of this country is warm and damp, and consequently epidemics prevail.

At the end of winter and the beginning of spring rain falls

in a south-east direction. For a notice of the Irongate pass, in connection with Chenghiz Khan, see Douglas, *u. s.*, p. 66. Conf. Baber's *Mem.*, pp. xxxvi. 132; Gaubil, *Hist. de Genthiscan*, p. 257; P. de la Croix, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. i. pp. 33, 62, &c.; Edrisi, tom. i. p. 484; Wood's *Oxus*, Yule's int., p. lxi; Markham's *Cl. vijo*, p. 122; Bretschneider, *Chin. Med. Trav.*, p. 41 and n.; *Med. Geog.*, p. 61.

<sup>120</sup> Formerly written by mistake To-fu-lo.

<sup>121</sup> The country here described as Tu-ho-lo is the Tukhara of Sanskrit, and the Tokharistan of the Arabian geographers. It corresponds with the Ta-hia of Sze-ma-t'sien. Ta-hia is generally identified with Baktria, but the limits of Baktria are not defined, except that it is separated from Soghdiana by the Oxus. No doubt this land of Tukhara was that inhabited by the Tokhari, who were neighbours to the Dahæ, both of them mountain tribes (see the question discussed *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. vi. pp. 95, 96). Kingsmill has given the substance of Sze-ma-t'sien's account of Ta-hia and the surrounding tribes (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. xiv. pp. 77 ff.). It is to be observed, however, that Hiuen Tsiang, when speaking of the Turks, *i. e.*, the Yueh-chi and Ye-tha, who had overrun this part of Central Asia, uses different symbols from those employed here. In the first case the people are called Tub-kiueh; in this case the country is called Tu-ho-lo. The land of the Tokhari (Tokbaristan) need not be connected with the people called Tuh-kiueh—the Hiung-nu or Karanirus—although it was afterwards overrun by them. See n. 62 *supra*. For notices of the Tokhari (v. l. Takhari) consult Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xi. cap. 8. 2 (p. 511); Pliny, lib. vi. c. 17, 20; Amm. Marcell., xxiii. 6, 57; Ptol. *Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 11, 6; Justin, xlii. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 2nd ed.), vol. i. pp. 1019, 1023; Ritter, *Asien*, vol. v. p. 701, vii. p. 697; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xix. p. 151; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 45, 46; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 170. Tushara (snowy, frigid) and Tushkara are used as equivalents of Tukbara; Wilson, *Vishnu Pur.* (Hall), vol. ii. p. 186, vol. iv. p. 203; *Mahabharata*, ii. 1850. iii. 1991, 12,350, vi. 3652; *Harivamsa*, v. 311, xiv. 784. cxiii. 6441; *Brihat Samhita*, xiv. 22, xvi. 6; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 498. Tu-ho-lo might phonetically represent Tur, and so indicate the origin of Turan, the region to which Wilford assigned the Tukharas.

<sup>122</sup> So also the Greeks when they took possession of Baktria divided it into satrapies, two of which, asponia and Turiva, the Parthians wrested from Eukratides.—Strabo, lib. xi. c. 11, 2 (p. 517). The numerous coins belonging to the Greek period in Baktria probably relate to these satrapies, and not to an undivided Baktrian kingdom. See *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 160.

without intermission; therefore from the south of this country, and to the north of Lamghan (Lan-po), diseases from moisture (*moist-heat*) are common. Hence the priests retire to their rest (*rain-rest*) on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month, and give up their retirement on the fifteenth day of the third month. This is in consequence of the quantity of rain, and they arrange their instructions accordingly. With regard to the character of the people, it is mean and cowardly;<sup>123</sup> their appearance is low and rustic. Their knowledge of good faith and rectitude extends so far as relates to their dealings one with another. Their language differs somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five: by combining these they express all objects (*things*) around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually, and exceed those of the people of Su-li. Most of the people use fine cotton for their dress; some use wool. In commercial transactions they use gold and silver alike. The coins are different in pattern from those of other countries.

Following the course of the Oxus as it flows down from the north, there is the country of Ta-mi.

#### TA-MI [TERMED]

This country<sup>124</sup> is 600 li or so from east to west, and 400 li or so from north to south. The capital of the country is about 20 li in circuit, extended from east to west, and narrow from north to south. There about ten *sangharamas* with about one thousand monks. The *stupas* and the images of the honoured Buddha are noted for various spiritual manifestations. Going east we arrive at Ch'i-ngoh-yen-na.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> So Sze-ma-t'sien describes the people of Ta-hia: "The was no supreme ruler; each city and town elected its own chief. Its soldiers were weak and cowards in battle, fit only for traders." (Kingsmill, *loc. cit.*)

<sup>124</sup> Termed or Termiz., on the north bank of the Amu-daria. Conf. Baber's *Memoirs*, int., p. xxxv; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 57, 167; Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 328; Yule, *Cathay*, p. ccxxxv; Edrissi, tome. i. p. 273; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tome v. p. 270; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 263; vol. xlii. p. 510.

<sup>125</sup> Before entering on this excursus, it will be better to explain Hiuen Tsiang's actual route. From a comparison of the text with the narrative of Hwui-lib, it will be seen that, after leaving the Iron gates, and entering Tukbara, he proceeded across the Oxus to the country called Hwo. This almost certainly is represented by Kunduz, on the eastern bank of the Surkh-ab. Here he met with the eldest son of the Khan of the Turks. This prince had married the sister of the king of Kao-chang, from whom Hiuen Tsiang had letters of recommendation. After some delay the pilgrim proceeded, in company with some priests from Balkh, to that city (Po-bo). Here he remained examining the sacred relics of his religion for some days. From this he departs southwards along the Balkh river to Dara-gaz, and there entering the mountains, he proceeds still southwards to Bamiyan. So that of all the countries named betwixt the Oxus and the

CH'I-NGOH-YEN-NA [CHAGHANIAN]<sup>126</sup>

This country extends about 400 li from east to west, and about 500 li from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. There are some five *sangharamas*, which contain a few monks. Going east we reach Hwuh-lo-mo.

HWUH-LO-MO<sup>127</sup> [GARMA]

This country is some 100 li in extent from east to west, and 300 li from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. The king is a Turk of the Hi-su tribe. There are two convents and about one hundred monks. Going east<sup>128</sup> we arrive at the Su-man country.

SU-MAN [SUMAN AND KULAB]

This country extends 400 li or so from east to west, and 100 li from north to south. The capital of the country is 16 or 17 li in circuit; its king is a Hi-su Turk. There are two convents and a few monks. On the south-west this country borders on the Oxus, and extends to the Kio-ho-yen-na country.

KIO-HO-YEN-NA [KUBADIAN]

From east to west it is 200 li or so in extent; from north to south 300 li or so. The capital is 10 li or so in circuit.

Hindu Kush, Hiuen Tsiang only himself visited Hwo (Kunduz), Po-bo (Balkh), Kie-chi (Gaz), and Fan-yen-na (Bamiyan). This is gathered not only from the records found in Hwui-lib, but also from the use of the symbol *hing*. The excursus begins from Termed, at which point he probably crossed the Oxus, and proceeds, as the text says, along the northern flow of the river.

<sup>126</sup> Chaghanian, or Saghanian, probably corresponds with Hissar, on the Karateghin (or northern) branch of the Oxus, as the text says; the town is in lat. 38°.29' N., long. 69° 17' E. It included the valley of the Surkhan and Upper Kafirnahan. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 96; Baber's *Mem.*, p. xxxv; Ouseley, *Or. Geog.*, p. 277; Edrisi, tom. i. p. 480; Wood's *Oxus*, *Yule's int.*, p. lxii; *Ocean Highways*, 1876, p. 328.

<sup>127</sup> From the eastern direction given we should expect the river to bend eastwards; we find it does so. There can be little question, therefore, that Colonel Yule is right in restoring Hwuh-lo-mo to Garma, the capital of Karateghin district, on the Surkhab or Vakhsh. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 96; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xli. pp. 338 ff; Wood's *Oxus*, p. lxx; V. de St. Martin conjecturally identified it with Shaduman Hissar.

<sup>128</sup> This expression "going east" need not imply that the country indicated lies to the eastward of the last named, but that it is eastward of the line of advance, which would in this case be the northern branch of the Oxus. Hence this country of Suman, which has been identified with the Shuman of the Arab geographers (Edrisi, tom. ii. p. 203; Abulfeda, *Chor. et Mavar.*, p. 38; Ouseley, *Or. Geog.*, p. 277), is said to have the Oxus on the south-west, extending to Kubadian (Kio-ho-yen-na), which lies between the Kafirnahan and Wagesh rivers,—the town of Kubadian being in lat. 37° 21' N., long. 68° 9' E., 57 miles N.N.E. of Kbulm. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. pp. 456, 509 n.

There are three convents and about one hundred monks. Still eastward is the country of Hu-sha.

### HU-SHA<sup>120</sup> [WAKHSH]

This country is about 300 li from east to west, and 500 li or so from north to south. The capital is 16 or 17 li in circuit. Going eastwards we arrive at Kho-to lo.

### KHO-TO-LO<sup>120</sup> [KHOTL]

This kingdom is 100 li or so from east to west, and the same from north to south. The capital is 20 li or so in circuit. On the east it borders on the T'sung-ling mountains, and extends to the country of Kiu-mi-to.

### KIU-MI-TO [KUMIDHA,<sup>121</sup> OR DARWAZ AND ROSHAN]

This country extends 2000 li from east to west, and about 200 li from north to south. It is in the midst of the great T'sung-ling mountains. The capital of the country is about 20 li in circuit. On the south-west it borders on the river Oxus;<sup>122</sup> on the south it touches the country of Shi-ki-ni.<sup>123</sup>

Passing the Oxus on the south,<sup>124</sup> we come to the kingdom

<sup>120</sup> Hu-sha is no doubt Wakhsh, which lies to the north of Shuman and Khotlan. Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. p. 143.

<sup>120</sup> Kho-to-lo is represented by Khotl or Khotlan, the Kuti of Edrisi, and is described in the text as stretching eastwards to the T'sung-ling mountains (Pamir), and bordered on the south by the valley of the Komedai, or plain of Kurgantube and lower valley of the Wakhsh. It would thus correspond with the country to the north-east of Kulab. Conf. Deguignes, *H. des Huns*, tom. v. p. 28; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 170 n.; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.* pp. 239, 276.

<sup>121</sup> Kiu-mi-to would correctly be restored to Kumidha, which naturally represents the country of the Komedai of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 12, 3, c. 13, 2, 3; lib. vii. c. 1, 42), through which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk. It corresponds with Darwaz (the gate), or the valley of Rasht. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 97, 98; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tom. v. p. 270; Edrisi, tom. i. p. 483; *Jour. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 15; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. xxxix, lxxv, 248, 249; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xli. p. 339; *Proc. R. G. S.*, vol. i. (1879) p. 65.

<sup>122</sup> The chief town of Darwaz—still called Khum or Kala-i-khum—is on the Ab-i-Pianj or south branch of the Amu, which runs just within the south-west limit of the district. *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. iv. (1882), pp. 412 ff; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. pp. 458, 471, 498. Roshan lies to the south-east of Darwaz and between it and Shignan, and on the northern branch of the river which joins the Panja near Bartang.

<sup>123</sup> Shi-ki-ni has been identified with Shignan or Shakhnan by Cunningham and Yule.—*J. R. As. Soc.*, N. S. vol. vi. pp. 97, 113; *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 508 n.; *J. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 56; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 248, 249. Edrisi has Saknia, tom. i. p. 483.

<sup>124</sup> That is, to the south of the Amu or Panja. The pilgrim having described the districts first in a northerly direction, then east of the main stream, now leaving the valley of the Shignan, which runs along the northern side of the Panja, he recounts the names of districts to the south of that river.

of Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti,<sup>135</sup> the kingdom of Po-to-chang-na,<sup>136</sup> the kingdom of In-po-kin,<sup>137</sup> the kingdom of Kiu-lang-na,<sup>138</sup> the kingdom of Hi-mo-to-lo,<sup>139</sup> the kingdom of Po-li-ho,<sup>140</sup> the kingdom of Khi-li-seh-mo,<sup>141</sup> the kingdom of Ho-lo-hu,<sup>142</sup> the kingdom of O-li-ni,<sup>143</sup> the kingdom of Mung-kin.<sup>144</sup>

Going from the kingdom of Hwo (Kunduz) south-east, we

<sup>135</sup> Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti was restored doubtfully to Tamasthiti by Julien. It is the Termistat of the Arab geographers, one stage from the famous stone bridge on the Waksh-ab or Surkh-ab, and one of the chief towns of Khutl.—*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 508 n. See also Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxxi, 260; Istakhri, pp. 125, 126, and Gardiner's 'Memoir' in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xxii. pp. 289, 291.

Julien has made a mistake (*Mem.* t. ii. p. 201) in giving the width of the valley at 400 or 500 li; it should be 4 or 5 li, according to the India Office Library copy. It would thus be a valley some 300 miles long, and about a mile wide. On Captain Trotter's map the long valley of Wakhan extends through more than two degrees of longitude, viz., from 72° to 74° 30' E. long.; but following the winding of the river it might probably approach the length assigned by Hiuen Tsiang. See also Yule, *u. s.* pp. 111-113.

<sup>136</sup> Po-to-chang-na. This represents Badakshan, celebrated for its ruby mines. For an interesting account of this country, its inhabitants, and their character, see Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 191 seq.; conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. pp. 252, 260, 265, 278; vol. xxxvii. pp. 8, 10; vol. xl. pp. 345, 393; vol. xlii. pp. 440 ff.; vol. xlvi. pp. 278, 279.

<sup>137</sup> In-po-kin, probably Yangan, the old name of the valley of the Kokeha, from Jern upwards.—Yule.

<sup>138</sup> Kiu-lang-na represents Kuran, a name applied to the upper part of the Kokeha valley, about Lajward (Wood). Celebrated for mines of lapis-lazuli.—See Yule, *u. s.*

<sup>139</sup> Hi-mo-to-lo. This certainly would correspond with Himatala, the Chinese explanation being "under the Snowy Mountains" (*hima+tolu*).—Julien, *Mem.*, tom. i. p. 178. Colonel Yule has identified it with Daraim, or, as it is otherwise given, Darah-i-aim. (See his remarks, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 108; Wood's *Oxus*, p. lxxvii.

<sup>140</sup> Po-li-bo must be in the neighbourhood of the Varsakb river, a tributary of the Kokeha. Wood, in his map, has a district called Farokhar or Farkhar, which may represent Po-li-bo or Parika.

<sup>141</sup> Khi-li-seh-mo is no doubt Khrishma or Kishm, north of Farkbar, and thirty-two miles east of Talikan. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 163.

<sup>142</sup> Ho-lo-hu represents Ragb, an important fief in the north of Badakshan between the Kokeba and the Oxus (Yule).

<sup>143</sup> O-li-ni. This, as Colonel Yule says, "is assuredly a district on both sides of the Oxus," of which the chief place formerly bore the name of Abreng; the Hazrat Imam of Wood's map, 26 miles north of Kunduz. Yule, *u. s.* p. 106; P. de la Croix, *H. de Timurbec*, t. i. pp. 172, 175; *Institutes of Timur*, p. 95.

<sup>144</sup> Mung-kin. Julien has by mistake given the circuit of this district as 4000 li (*Mem.*, tom. ii. p. 194), instead of 400 li. This has been observed by Colonel Yule (p. 105, *u. s.*). It probably is represented by the district from Talikan and Khanabad, and the valley of the Furkhan, in the east of Kunduz or Kataghan. This Talikan is the Thaikhan of the Arab geographers. Marco Polo visited it. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 223, 224, 230, 231: Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 38, 130; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 160. Conf. Burnes, *Trav. in Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 8; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxxxi, 156; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 195. There is a district called Munjan, in the south of Badakshan, between the sources of the Kokeha and Gogardasht.

come to the kingdom of Chen-seh-to,<sup>145</sup> the kingdom of 'An-ta-la-po'<sup>146</sup> (Andarab), remarks concerning which may be found in the return records.

Going south-west from the country of Hwo, we arrive at the kingdom of Fo-kia-lang (Baghlan).

#### FO-KIA-LANG [BAGHALAN]

This country<sup>147</sup> is 50 li or so from east to west, and 200 li or so from north to south; the capital is about 10 li in circuit. Going south, we come to the country of Hi-lu-sih-min-kien (Rui-samangan).

#### HI-LU-SIH-MIN-KIEN [RUI-SAMANGAN]<sup>148</sup>

This country is about 1000 li in circuit, the capital about 14 or 15 li. On the north-west it borders on the kingdom of Ho-lin (Khulm).

#### HO-LIN [KHULM]

This country is 800 li or so in circuit, the capital is 5 or 6 li in circumference; there are about ten convents and 500 monks. Going west, we come to the country of Po-ho (Balkh).

#### PO-HO [BALKH]

This country is about 800 li from east to west, and 400 li from north to south; on the north it borders on the Oxus. The capital is about 20 li in circuit. It is called generally the little Rajagriha.<sup>149</sup> This city, though well (*strongly*) fortified, is

<sup>145</sup> Chen-seh-to, for *Kwo-seh-to*, i.e., Khousta or Khost, located by Yule between Talikan and Indarab. A district now known as Khost is in Afghanistan, south of the Kuram valley. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxii, p. 311.

<sup>146</sup> An-ta-la-po, i.e., Andarab or Indarab. Lat. 35° 40' N.; long. 69° 27' E.

<sup>147</sup> In the valley of the southern Surkh-ab or Kunduz river, about 34 miles south from Kunduz. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 223; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi, p. 101.

<sup>148</sup> In the upper valley of the Kbulm river, including the towns of Rui, Kuram, and Haibak, 42 miles west from Baghlan. Moorcroft, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 402; Sprenger, *Post u. Reise Routen*, p. 37; Burnes, *Travels* (1st ed.), vol. i, pp. 201—205.

<sup>149</sup> So I think it ought to be translated. It is called the "Little Rajagriha" in consequence of the numerous Buddhist sites in its neighbourhood, vying in that respect with the Magadha capital. This is plainly intimated in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (Iulien's trans., p. 64), where the Khan says that "it is called the Little Rajagriha: its sacred relics are exceedingly numerous;" the latter being the explanation of the former. On Balkh, see Burnes, *Travels* (1st ed.), vol. i, pp. 237—240; Ferrier, *Caravan Journ.*, pp. 206, 207; B. de Meynard, *Les Prairies d'Or*, t. iv, p. 48; *Dict. Geog.-Hist. de Perse*, p. 571; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xli, p. 510; De Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 167; Hyde, *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.*, p. 494; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 158; *Cathay*, p. 179; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 196; *Chin Med. Trav.*, pp. 47, 117.

thinly populated. The products of the soil are extremely varied, and the flowers, both on the land and water, would be difficult to enumerate. There are about 100 convents and 3000 monks, who all study the religious teaching of the Little Vehicle.

Outside the city, towards the south-west,<sup>150</sup> there is a convent called Navasangharama, which was built by a former king of this country. The Masters (of Buddhism), who dwell to the north of the great Snowy Mountains, and are authors of *Sastras*, occupy this convent only, and continue their estimable labours in it. There is a figure of Buddha here, which is lustrous with (*reflects the glory of*) noted gems, and the hall in which it stands is also adorned with precious substances of rare value. This is the reason why it has often been robbed by chieftains of neighbouring countries, covetous of gain.

This convent also contains (*possesses*)<sup>151</sup> a statue of Pi-shamen (Vaisravana) Deva, by whose spiritual influence, in unexpected ways, there is protection afforded to the precincts of the convent. Lately the son of the Khan Yeh-hu (or *She-hu*), belonging to the Turks, becoming rebellious, Yeh-hu Khan broke up his camping ground, and marched at the head of his horde to make a foray against this convent, desiring to obtain the jewels and precious things with which it was enriched.<sup>152</sup> Having encamped his army in the open ground, not far from the convent, in the night he had a dream. He saw Vaisravana Deva, who addressed him thus: "What power do you possess that you dare (*to intend*) to overthrow this convent?" and then hurling his lance, he transfixed him with it. The Khan, affrighted,

<sup>150</sup> Julien gives south-east by mistake.

<sup>151</sup> This passage seems to require the use of a past tense, "this convent formerly (*su*) had;" and so Julien renders it. But it appears to me improbable, if the statue of Vaisravana was in existence when the foray was made, "in recent times," that it should have been lost or destroyed so soon afterwards. Moreover, the symbol *su* has sometimes the sense of "a present condition" (as, for example, in the *Chung Yung*, xiv. 1, 2). Considering the sentence which follows, where the interior of the Sangharama is spoken of, I should prefer to think that *su* is a mistake for *ts'ien*; they both have the meaning of "before" or "formerly," but *ts'ien* also has the sense of "in front of." In this case the passage would run: "In front of the Sangharama there is a figure of Vaisravana Deva." This Deva was the protector of the convent, not so much that he was Kuhera, the god of wealth, as that he was the guardian of the north. This was perhaps the most northern Buddhist establishment in existence; at any rate, it was built for the convenience of northern priests.

<sup>152</sup> This sentence may otherwise be rendered: "Lately the son of the Turk Yeh-hu-khan, whose name was Sse-yeh-hu-khan, breaking up his camping ground," &c. Yeh-hu is the Khan that Hiuen Tsiang met on the rich hunting grounds of the Chu'i river (*Vie de Hiouen Tsiang*, p. 55). If the name of his son was Sse-yeh-hu, then doubtless it is he who purposed to sack the Sangharama. But if *sse* has the sense of "rebellious," then it would be Yeh-hu-khan himself who is referred to. I am inclined to think it must have been the son, whose name was Sse; but the repetition of the name Yeh-hu-khan is perplexing. The symbols *po-lo* correspond with the Turkish word *bulak*, camping ground or cantonment.



awoke, and his heart penetrated with sorrow, he told his dream to his followers, and then, to atone somewhat for his fault, he hastened to the convent to ask permission to confess his crime to the priests; but before he received an answer he died.

Within the convent in the southern hall of Buddha, there is the washing-basin which Buddha used. It contains about a peck,<sup>153</sup> and is of various colours, which dazzle the eyes. It is difficult to name the gold and stone of which it is made.<sup>154</sup> Again, there is a tooth of Buddha about an inch long, and about eight or nine tenths of an inch in breadth. Its colour is yellowish white; it is pure and shining. Again there is the sweeping brush of Buddha, made of the plant "Ka-she" (*kasa*). It is about two feet long and about seven inches round. Its handle is ornamented with various gems. These three relics are presented with offerings on each of the six fast-days by the assembly of lay and cleric believers. Those who have the greatest faith in worship see the objects emitting a radiance of glory.

To the north of the convent is a *stupa*, in height about 200 feet, which is covered with a plaster hard as<sup>155</sup> the diamond, and ornamented with a variety of precious substances. It encloses a sacred relic (*she-li*), and at times this also reflects a divine splendour.

To the south-west of the convent there is a *Vihara*. Many years have elapsed since its foundation was laid. It is the resort (of people) from distant quarters. There are also a large number of men of conspicuous talent. As it would be difficult for the several possessors of the four different degrees (fruits) of holiness to explain accurately their condition of saintship, therefore the Arhats (*Lo-han*) when about to die, exhibit their spiritual capabilities (*miraculous powers*), and those who witness such an exhibition found *stupas* in honour of the deceased saints. These are closely crowded together here, to the number of several hundreds. Besides these there are some thousand others, who, although they had reached the fruit of holiness (i.e., *Arhatship*), yet having exhibited no spiritual changes at the end of life, have no memorial erected to them.

At present the number of priests is about 100; so irregular are they morning and night in their duties, that it is hard to tell saints from sinners.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup> *Teou*, a dry measure of ten pints.

<sup>154</sup> This may mean—the golden-like stone of which it is made has a difficult name, or the metal (gold) and stone are difficult to name.

<sup>155</sup> It may be "hard as the diamond," or "shining like the diamond."

<sup>156</sup> There is evidently a false reading here. I think the character *fi*, which, in connection with the following character, *hai*, means "remiss and idle," is for *mi*, which would qualify *hai* in the sense of "absence of idleness." The passage would then read: "Morning and night there is an absence of idleness, but it is difficult to conjecture who are saints and who not."

To the north-west of the capital about 50 li or so we arrive at the town of Ti-wei; 40 li to the north of this town is the town of Po-li. In each of these towns there is a *stupa* about three chang (30 feet) in height. In old days, when Buddha first attained enlightenment after advancing to the tree of knowledge,<sup>157</sup> he went to the garden of deer;<sup>158</sup> at this time two householders<sup>159</sup> meeting him, and beholding the brilliant appearance of his person, offered him from their store of provisions for their journey some cakes and honey. The lord of the world, for their sakes, preached concerning the happiness of men and Devas, and delivered to them, his very first disciples,<sup>160</sup> the five rules of moral conduct and the ten good qualities (*shen*, virtuous rules).<sup>161</sup> When they had heard the sermon, they humbly asked for some object to worship (*offer gifts*). On this Tathagata delivered to them some of his hair and nail-cuttings. Taking these, the merchants were about to return to their own country,<sup>162</sup> when they asked of Buddha the right way of venerating these relics. Tathagata forthwith spreading out his *Sanghati* on the ground as a square napkin, next laid down his *Uttarasanga* and then his *Sankakshika*; again over these he placed as a cover his begging-pot, on which he erected his mendicant's staff.<sup>163</sup> Thus he placed them in order, making thereby (*the figure of*) a *stupa*. The two men taking the order, each went to his own town, and then according to the model which the holy one had prescribed, they prepared to build a monument, and thus was the very first *Stupa* of the Buddhist religion erected.

Some 70 li to the west of this town is a *Stupa* about two chang (20 feet) in height. This was erected in the time of Kasyapa Buddha. Leaving the capital and going south-west,

<sup>157</sup> This passage might perhaps also be rendered "after gazing with delight on the Bodhi tree." The symbol *tsu* has such a meaning, and it would be in strict agreement with the legend.

<sup>158</sup> That is, the garden at Banaras.

<sup>159</sup> Two merchant-lords (*changche*).

<sup>160</sup> "The very first to hear the five," &c.

<sup>161</sup> That is, the five *Silas* and the ten *Silas*. See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub *silam*. The story of the two merchants alluded to in the text is one well known in the Buddhist legend. It will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (2nd ed.) pp. 186, 187, and note; also in the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 167; Bigandet, *Legend of Gaudama*, vol. i. p. 108; Real, *Rom. Legend*, p. 236. The incident is also found amongst the Amaravati sculptures (*Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. lviii, fig. 1, middle disc).

<sup>162</sup> Their own country was Suvarnabhumi or Burma.

<sup>163</sup> This translation differs from that of M. Julien. I take the construction thus: "I sang *kia chi*, "taking his sanghati;" *fang thee po*, "as a square napkin" (i.e., folding it into this shape); *hia*, "he placed it underneath." The rest of the sentence, then, will follow as I have translated it. The monument erected as a shrine for the relics given on this occasion is said to be the far-famed Sbwedagun at Rangun.—As. Researches, vol. xvi., quoted by Spence Hardy, *M. B.*, p. 187 n.

entering the declivities of the Snowy Mountains, there is the country of Jui-mo-to [Jumadh?].

#### JUI-MO-TO [JUMADHA?]<sup>164</sup>

This country is 50 or 60 li from east to west, and 100 li or so from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. Towards the south-west is the country of Hu-shi-kien (Juzgan).

#### HU-SHI-KIEN [JUZGANA]

This country is about 500 li from east to west, and about 1000 li from north to south. The capital is 20 li in circuit. It has many mountains and river-courses. It produces excellent (*shen*) horses. To the north-west is Ta-la-kien.

#### TA-LA-KIEN [TALIKAN]<sup>165</sup>

This country is 500 li or so from east to west, and 50 or 60 li from north to south. The capital is 10 li about in circuit. On the west it touches the boundaries of Persia. Going<sup>166</sup> 100 li or so south from the kingdom of Po-ho (Balkh), we arrive at Kie-chi.

#### KIE-CHI [GACHI OR GAZ]

This country from east to west is 500 li or so, from west to south 300 li. The capital is 4 or 5 li in circuit. The soil is stony, the country a succession of hills. There are but few flowers or fruits, but plenty of beans and corn. The climate is wintry; the manner of the people hard and forbidding. There are some ten convents or so, and about 200<sup>167</sup> priests. They all belong to the school of the Sarvastivadas, which is a branch of the Little Vehicle.

On the south-east we enter the great Snowy Mountains.

<sup>164</sup> A position near Sir-i-pul seems indicated.—Yule, *u. s.*, p. 101.

<sup>165</sup> On the borders of Khorasan, in the valley of the Murghab.—Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 175, 220; Edrissi, tom. i. pp. 468, 478; *Jour. As.*, ser. vi., tom. xiii. pp. 175—179. There is a Talikan also in Badakshan. See n. 145 *ante*.

<sup>166</sup> Here the true itinerary is resumed. Hiuen Tsiang now leaves Balkh, and travels south about twenty miles to Gaz or Darah-Gaz. "This valley will be found in Macartney's map to Elphinstone, in the map to Ferrier's Travels, &c., about one march south of Balkh, about half-way between that town and Dehas. Ibn Haukal also states that the hill-country south of Balkh is called Ghaz (Ouseley, *Or. Geog.*, pp. 243, 244, 270). Darah-Gaz is mentioned in Timur's *Institutes* (p. 59), and it was the scene of a rout of Humayun's little army by the Uzbeks in 1549.—Erskine's *Baber and Humayun*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 376; Yule, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 102; *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xxii. p. 164.

<sup>167</sup> My text gives 200 as the number of the priests; but the error is in the printing: it ought to be 300.

These mountains are high and the valleys deep; the precipices and hollows (*crevasses*) are very dangerous. The wind and snow keep on without intermission; the ice remains through the full summer; the snow-drifts fall into the valleys and block the roads. The mountain spirits and demons (*demon sprites*) send, in their rage, all sorts of calamities; robbers crossing the path of travellers kill them.<sup>168</sup> Going with difficulty 600 li or so, we leave the country of Tukhara, and arrive at the kingdom of Fan-yen-na Bamiyan).

#### FAN-YEN-NA [BAMIYAN]<sup>169</sup>

This kingdom is about 2000 li from east to west, and 300 li from north to south. It is situated in the midst of the Snowy Mountains. The people inhabit towns either in the mountains or the valleys, according to circumstances.<sup>170</sup> The capital leans on a steep hill, bordering on a valley 6 or 7 li in length.<sup>171</sup> On the north it is backed by high precipices. It (*the country*) produces spring-wheat<sup>172</sup> and few flowers or fruits. It is suitable for cattle, and affords pasture for many sheep and horses. The climate is wintry, and the manners of the people hard and uncultivated. The clothes are chiefly made of skin and wool, which are the most suitable for the country. The literature, customary rules, and money used in commerce are the same as those of the Tukhara country. Their language is a little different, but in point of personal appearance they closely resemble each other. These people are remarkable, among all their neighbours, for a love of religion (*a heart of pure faith*); from the highest form of worship to the three jewels,<sup>173</sup> down to the worship of the hundred (*i.e., differently*) spirits, there is not the least absence (*decrease*) of earnestness and the utmost devotion of heart. The merchants, in arranging their prices as they come and go, fall in with the signs afforded by the spirits. If good,

<sup>168</sup> This phrase, *wei wu*, may refer to the former statement, "that the robbers kill the travellers;" in which case *wei wu* would mean, "as a profession or business;" referring perhaps to the existence of a dacoit system.

<sup>169</sup> The country of Bamiyan has been described by Burnes and other travellers. Wood, in his journey to the source of the Oxus, passed through it. It lies immediately to the north of the Hajiyak Pass. Wood's *Oxus* (2nd ed.), pp. 130, 131; *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. i. (1879), pp. 244 ff.; Baber's *Memoirs*, p. 139. Grote (*Hist. Greece*, vol. xii. p. 271 n.) supposes that Alexander crossed into Baktria by Bamiyan: see Arrian. *Anab.*, lib. iii. c. 29, 1; Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 2, 11; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 179f.; also note 175 *inf.*

<sup>170</sup> Or, "according to the resources or strength of the place.

<sup>171</sup> Such it appears is the meaning. The town rests on, or is supported by, a precipitous cliff, and borders on a valley 6 or 7 li in length.

<sup>172</sup> The *suh-mai* is "late wheat;" wheat sown in the spring.

<sup>173</sup> Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

they act accordingly; if evil, they seek to propitiate the powers.<sup>174</sup> There are ten convents and about 1000 priests. They belong to the Little Vehicle, and the school of the Lokottaravadins (Shwo-ch'uh-shi-pu).

To the north-east of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet.<sup>175</sup> Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness.

To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Sakya Buddha, made of metallic stone (*teou-shih*<sup>176</sup>), in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands.

To the east of the city 12 or 13 li there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained *Nirvana*. The figure is in length about 1000

<sup>174</sup> This sentence might be rendered better thus: "The merchants conjecture in coming and going whether the gods and spirits (or the heavenly spirits) afford propitious omens; if the indications are calamitous they offer up their prayers (seek religious merit)."

<sup>175</sup> These rock-hewn figures of Buddha in Bamiyan have been objects of curiosity down to the present day. They were seen during the campaign in Afghanistan in 1843, and doubtless remain to the present day. The most recent notice of them is in General Kaye's paper. *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. i. (1879), pp. 248, 249. He says: "On the opposite side of the valley from the great (standing) image, about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills. A short way up this there is a nearly insulated rock, on the flat summit of which there is in relief a recumbent figure, bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard," which figure the people now call *Azhdaha*, or the dragon slain by a Muhammadan pir (see also *ib.*, p. 338). Hyde, quoting Masalik Mamalik and the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* of Ibn Fakred-din Angju, says the two larger statues are 50 cubits high, one called *Surkh-but* (red image) and the other *Khink-but* (grey image), and at some distance is a smaller one "in formæ vetulæ," called *Nesr*. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says the larger of the two is 80 ells (cubits?) and the lesser 50 in height; Burnes's estimate is 120 and 70 feet. Wilford gives a tolerably minute account of Bamiyan and these figures. Masson mentions five statues. See Ritter, *Die Stupa's oder die Architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Baktr. Königstr. u. d. Colosse von Bamiyan*, pp. 24f.; Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, p. 132; Burnes, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 182-188, and *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. ii. pp. 561f.; Masson, *ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 707f.; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxvii, 125f.; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. pp. 462-472, 495, 523-528; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 58, 193; Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 208, vol. iii. pp. 168, 169.

<sup>176</sup> This *teou-shih* is described by Medhurst (*sub voc.*) as "a kind of stone resembling metal. The Chinese call it the finest kind of native copper. It is found in the Po-sze country (Persia) and resembles gold. On the application of fire it assumes a red colour, and does not turn black. When mercury falls to the ground this substance will attract it." But from the statement that each part of this figure was cast separately, it is plain that it was made of metal, probably brass or bronze. Julien translates it by *laiton*, brass.

feet or so.<sup>177</sup> The king of this (country), every time he assembles the great congregation of the Wu-che (*Moksha*),<sup>178</sup> having sacrificed all his possessions, from his wife and children down to his country's treasures, gives in addition his own body; then his ministers and the lower order of officers prevail on the priests to barter back these possessions; and in these matters most of their time is taken up.<sup>179</sup>

To the south-west of the convent of the sleeping figure (of *Buddha*), going 200 li or so, passing the great Snowy Mountains on the east, there is a little watercourse (or valley), which is moist with (the overflowings of) standing springs, bright as mirrors; the herbage here is green and bright.<sup>180</sup> There is a *sangharāma* here with a tooth of *Buddha*, also the tooth of a *Pratyeka*<sup>181</sup> *Buddha*, who lived at the beginning of the *Kalpa*, which is in length about five inches, and in breadth somewhat less than four inches. Again, there is the tooth of a golden-wheel king,<sup>182</sup> in length three inches, and in surface (breadth) two inches. There is also the iron begging-dish of *Sanakavasa*,<sup>183</sup> a great *Arhat*, which is capable of holding eight or nine *shing* (pints). These three sacred objects, bequeathed by the holy personages referred to, are all contained in a yellow-golden sealed case. Again, there is here the *Sanghati* robe, in nine pieces<sup>184</sup> of *Sanakavasa*; the colour is a deep red (rose-red); it is made of the bark (peel) of the *She-no-kia* plant.<sup>185</sup> *Sanakavasa* was the

<sup>177</sup> If this sleeping figure of *Buddha* was lying within the building, it is unreasonable to suppose it could be 1000 feet in length. The sleeping figures of *Buddha* at Moulmein, I am told by a friend who visited the caves there and measured the figures, were 60 yards in length. The figures of *Buddha* entering *Nirvana* in the Sinhalese temples are often very large. One in Cave xxvi. at Ajanta is fully 23 feet in length. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 344; and note 175 *supra*. The text of Hiuen Tsiang is probably corrupt in this passage.

<sup>178</sup> The *Maksha Mahaparishad*; a meeting, as it seems, held every five years for the benefit of the priests (Buddhist community). On these occasions there were recitations of the law, and offerings were made to the priesthood. These assemblies were generally made on some favourite mountain. It was also called *Panchavarshika parishad*. See *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 170; and note 66 *supra*.

<sup>179</sup> In such matters as these there is most concern shown.

<sup>180</sup> *Ts'ung*, a light green.

<sup>181</sup> A *Pratyeka Buddha* is one who has attained enlightenment, that is, become a *Buddha*, but for himself alone.

<sup>182</sup> That is, a monarch of the four *dvipas* or *suvarnachakravartin*.

<sup>183</sup> *Sanakavasa*, or *Sanavasika*, according to some Northern accounts, was the fourth patriarch or president of the Buddhist community (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, xiv). Other authorities speak of him as the third patriarch. See Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.; Remusat, *Mémoires Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 118; Neumann, *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morg.*, vol. iii. p. 124; Edkins, *Chin. Buddhism*, pp. 66-69; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums*, (2nd edit.), vol. ii. p. 1201. He lived 100 years after *Buddha*.

<sup>184</sup> *I.e.*, composed of nine parts sewn together.

<sup>185</sup> The *Sanaka* plant, a kind of hemp called the Bengal *san*.

disciple of Ananda.<sup>186</sup> In a former existence he had given the priests garments made of the *Sanaka* plant (*fibre*), on the conclusion of the rainy season.<sup>187</sup> By the force of this meritorious action during 500 successive births he wore only this (*kind of*) garment, and at his last birth he was born with it. As his body increased so his robe grew larger, until the time when he was converted by Ananda and left his home (*i.e.*, became an ascetic). Then his robe changed into a religious garment;<sup>188</sup> and when he was fully ordained it again changed into a *Sanghati*, composed of nine pieces. When he was about to arrive at *Nirvana* he entered into the condition of *Samadhi*, bordering on complete extinction, and by the force of his vow in attaining wisdom (*he arrived at the knowledge*)<sup>189</sup> that this *kashaya* garment would last till the bequeathed law (*testament*) of Sakya (*was established*), and after the destruction of this law then his garment also would perish. At the present time it is a little fading, for faith also is small at this time!

Going eastward from this, we enter the defiles of the Snowy Mountains, cross over the black ridge (Siah Koh), and arrive at the country of Kia-pi-shi.

#### KIA-PI-SHI [KAPISA]

This country<sup>190</sup> is 4000 li or so in circuit. On the north it abuts on the Snowy Mountains, and on three sides it borders on the "black ridge" (*the Hindu Kush*). The capital of the country is 10 li or so in circuit. It produces cereals of all sorts, and many kinds of fruit-trees. The *shen* horses are bred here, and there is

<sup>186</sup> The ordinary succession of the patriarchs is, after Buddha, (1) Kasyapa, (2) Ananda, (3) Madhyantika, (4) Sanakavasa. The last named is sometimes identified with Yasa, the son of Kana, who was one of the chief leaders in the second council 100 years after Buddha. He may be the same as Sonaka in the Southern records, who died, according to Rhys Davids (*Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 46, 47), in A.B. 124; conf. Buhler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 150.

<sup>187</sup> "At the conclusion of the retirement during the rainy season." It was customary for the priests to retire into a fixed residence during the three months of the rainy season. When the retirement broke up (*kiai ngan ku jih*) robes and other presents were given to the priests.

<sup>188</sup> *I.e.*, a vestment worn by the religious.

<sup>189</sup> Or "he secured the privilege, by the earnestness of his vow, that his robe," &c.

<sup>190</sup> Kapisa is the *Kapisa* (or *Kalisa*) of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 18, 4), and the *Capissa* of Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 23, 25), the capital of a district called *Capissene*. It is perhaps also the *Caphusa* of Solinus (*Polyh.*, c. 54). See Lassen's discussion, *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. iii, pp. 135, 591, 879—889. Ptolemy placed it 155 miles N. 15° E. from *Kaboura* or *Kabul*, the *Kapul* or *Kavul* of the *Bundahis*; but this distance is far too great. Julien supposes the district to have occupied the Panjshir and Tagao valleys in the north border of Kohistan, and that the capital may have been either in the valley of the *Nijrao* or of the *Tagao*. Conf. Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 144f.; Masson, *Narrative of Jour.*, vol. iii. p. 168; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, p. 117; Panini has *Kapisi* (iv. 2. 99).

also the scent (*scented root*) called *Yu-kin*.<sup>191</sup> Here also are found objects of merchandisc from all parts. The climate is cold and windy. The people are cruel and fierce; their language is coarse and rude; their marriage rites a mere intermingling of the sexes. Their literature is like that of the Tukhara country, but the customs, common language, and rules of behaviour are somewhat different. For clothing they use hair garments (*wool*); their garments are trimmed with fur. In commerce they use gold and silver coins, and also little copper coins, which in appearance and stamp<sup>192</sup> differ from those of other countries. The king is a Kshattriya by caste. He is of a shrewd character (*nature*),<sup>193</sup> and being brave and determined, he has brought into subjection the neighbouring countries, some ten of which he rules. He cherishes his people<sup>194</sup> with affection, and reverences much the three precious objects of worship. Every year<sup>195</sup> he makes a silver figure of Buddha eighteen feet high, and at the same time he convokes an assembly called the *Moksha Mahaparishad* when he gives alms to the poor and wretched, and relieves the bereaved (*widows and bereaved*).

There are about 100 convents in this country and some 600 priests. They mostly study the rules of the Great Vehicle. The *stupas* and *sangharamas* are of an imposing height, and are built on high level spots, from which they may be seen on every side, shining in their grandeur (*purity*).<sup>196</sup> There are some ten temples

<sup>191</sup> *Curcuma* (Jul.) The *Curcuma* belongs to the natural order of *Zingiberaceæ*; the different species are stemless plants with tuberous roots. The scented species referred to in the text is probably the *Curcuma zedoaria*, or broad-leaved turmeric. The tubers are aromatic, and when ground the powder is used not only as a stimulating condiment in curry powders, &c., but as a perfume. In Sanskrit it is called *haridra*, with forty-six synonyms.

<sup>192</sup> The original, *kwei keu mu yang*, has, I suspect, the meaning of "stamp and inscription;" literally it would mean the pattern or fashion (*mu yang*) of the compass and square (*kwei keu*), or the circular and square part are different, &c. But the expression may also simply mean, "the size and form." It possibly refers to the copper coins of Kanishka or Kanerki.

<sup>193</sup> This passage may also be rendered: "He is distinguished for wisdom and tact; he is by nature brave and determined," &c. Hwulih uses the expression *ming lioh*, instead of *chi lioh*; evidently alluding to his tact or shrewdness, by which he had brought the neighbouring countries into his power.

<sup>194</sup> "The hundred families."

<sup>195</sup> The expression *sui* certainly means "a year" or "yearly;" but it may also have the sense of "periodically." This would suit the context perhaps better, as the "great assemblies" were usually convoked "every five years."

<sup>196</sup> It seems that the passage requires some such rendering as this. The symbol *ch'hang* indicates "a high level spot, from which there is a good prospect" (Medhurst). Simpson's account of the *stupas* in the Jellalabad valley would favour this translation (*Buddhist Architecture*, a paper read by W. Simpson before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 12th January 1880). We may gather from the connection of *stupa* and *sangharama* in the text, that Hiuen Tsiang alludes to the *stupa* with its *vihara*.



of the Devas, and 1000 or so of heretics (*different ways of religion*); there are naked ascetics, and others who cover themselves with ashes, and some who make chaplets of bones, which they wear as crowns on their heads.<sup>197</sup>

To the east of the capital<sup>198</sup> 3 or 4 li, at the foot of a mountain in the north, is a great *sangharama* with 300 or so priests in it. These belong to the Little Vehicle and adopt its teaching.<sup>199</sup>

According to tradition, Kanishka Raja of Gandhara<sup>200</sup> in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and brought

<sup>197</sup> The three sects here enumerated are known as (1) the Nirgranthas or Digambara Jainas; (2) Pasupatas; and (3) Kapaladharinas.

<sup>198</sup> There is some difficulty in fixing the name and site of the capital of Kapisa. General Cunningham identifies it with Opian (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 19). His opinion is based on a statement I have not been able to verify, viz., that on leaving Bamiyan, Hiuen Tsiang travelled 600 li in an easterly direction over "snowy mountains and black hills" to the capital of Kia-pi-shi. I can find no distance given either in the *Si-yu-ki* or by Hwui-lih. From Bamiyan south-east to the "humid valley" is 200 li. After this the account simply says: "Going in an easterly direction, &c., we come to Kia-pi-shi." Nor can I find any corroboration of the statement that "on leaving the capital of Kapisene, Hiuen Tsiang was accompanied by the king as far as the town of Kiu-lu-sa-pang, a distance of one yojana to the north-east" (*ap. cit.*, p. 20). Hwui-lih indeed states (i. 266) that the king of Kapisa accompanied the pilgrim 6 li from the *frontiers* of his kingdom; but that gives us no clue to the name or site of the capital. V. St. Martin makes Opian the capital of Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na (*Mem.*, tom. ii. p. 190). Hiuen Tsiang does not give the name of the chief city, but he places it 600 li to the west of Lan-po (Lamghan), which again is 100 li to the north-west of Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahara). Supposing the site of Nagarahara to be at the point of junction of the Kabul river with the Surkhar or Surkh-rud, we should have to place the capital of Kapisa on the declivity of the Hindu Kush, not far from the little town of Ghorband, or perhaps near Kushan, 10 miles west of Opian.

<sup>199</sup> I find in Julien's translation that this *sangharama* was called Jin-kia-lan (the humane sangharama, or, of "the man"). It is wanting in my text. India Office, No. 1503.

<sup>200</sup> Kanishka-raja, of Gandhara. He is often called in Chinese Buddhist books "the Chandan Kanika" (see *Fa-sho-hing-t'san-king*, pages xxviii, xxix.) This may simply mean Kanishka of Gandhara, the use of *Chandana* for *gandha* being common. The mountains of Gandhara are often explained as the "perfume mountains," as though from *gandha*. But in an old Buddhist map in my possession the Gandhara mountains are called the earth-holding (*ti chi*), as though *gan* were from an old root, *gan* or *gen* and *ahri*, to hold. Kanishka was king of the *Yuei-chi*, and the rise of his dynasty is placed by Chinese authors in the first century B.C. On his coins he is styled in the corrupt Greek legends *Kanerkī Korano*, and in the Baktrian-Pali legends and Manikyala inscription he is called Kanishka the Kushana, or "of the Gushana family," connecting him with the tribe called by the Chinese Kwei-shwang. Korano and Kushana are only different forms of the same word. Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. i. pp. 145f.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. pp. 806f.; *J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. xxxii. pp. 144f.; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. ii. p. 50; *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiv. pp. 161 f. The date of Kanishka is yet undetermined. According to Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. [2nd ed.] pp. 766, 768) he lived between A.D. 10 and A.D. 40. The Northern Buddhists place him (as we shall see farther on) 400 years after the *Nirvana*. But as Hiuen Tsiang places Asoka only 100 years after Buddha, the error appears to be in the date of the *Nirvana*; and thus Kanishka was really about 300 years after

into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river,<sup>201</sup> fearing the power of his arms, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-*raja* having received the hostages,<sup>202</sup> treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them separate establishments for the cold and hot weather; during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kapisa, in the autumn and spring they remained in the kingdom of Gandhara; and so he founded *sangharamas* for the hostages according to the three seasons. This convent (of which we are now speaking) is the one they occupied during the summer, and it was built for that purpose.<sup>203</sup> Hence the pictures of these

Asoka. Recent writers argue that Kanishka lived in the latter part of the first century, and that the Saka era (A.D. 78) originated with his reign. See Buhler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 149 ff.; vol. vii. pp. 141 ff.; Oldenberg, *ib.*, vol. x. pp. 213 ff.; Fergusson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xii. pp. 261 ff.; Max Muller, *India*, p. 293. R. Davids has come to the conclusion that the *Nirvana* is within a few years of 412 B.C. (*Numismata Oriental.*, part vi. p. 36). If this could be established, it would accord pretty well with the Northern legend referred to, and the date of Kanishkas' power might have been, as Lassen supposes, between 10 A.D. and 40 A.D.

<sup>201</sup> The district to the west of the river, i.e., the Yellow River, were the people of the Tangut empire. (For an explanation of the word Tangut, and other particulars, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 209; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 123). In my copy there is no mention made of "dependent princes" (Julien *in loc.*); the expression is "*fan wei*," which I take to be equivalent to "the associated tribes." The word *fan* is used for the Tibetans. This would explain Yule's remark (*op. cit.*, p. 209) that "the word Tangut (Tangut) is properly a Mongol plural designating certain tribes of Tibetan blood."

<sup>202</sup> In Hwui-lin's account (*Vie de Hiouen Tchang*, p. 72), we are told there was only one hostage, and he was a son of the Emperor of China. There is a curious story found among the sermons of Asvaghosha—who was contemporary with Kanishka—of a son of the Emperor of China coming to India to seek a cure for his blindness. He dwelt in a monastery in which there was a great preacher. On a certain occasion he preached so eloquently that the entire congregation was moved to tears. Some of these tears were applied to the eyes of the blind prince, and he recovered (Sermon 54). There was plainly an intercourse kept up between China, or the eastern frontiers of China, and North India from an early period.

<sup>203</sup> The name of this convent is given by Hwui-lin (K. ii. fol. 10 a) as Sha-lo-kia, which is restored by Julien (t. ii. p. 503) doubtfully to Sharaka. Dr. Eitel (*Handbook* sub voc.) has followed him in this restoration. It seems to be referred to by I-Tsing in his account of the travels of Hwui-lun (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 570). I am of opinion that Sha-lo-kia ought to be restored to Serika, and that it was so called because it was built for the Chinese hostages or hostage. This name for China (Serika) indeed is not known in Chinese literature; but it is plain that this establishment was not only very rich, but also provided with celebrated mural paintings. I have already called attention (*Abstract*, &c., p. 136 n.), to the way in which artists from Baktria were employed to paint the Buddhist viharas at an early date, but more particularly, as it would seem, during the time of Kanishka; for Asvaghosha, who relates the story referred to, was a follower of Kanishka. Nothing would be more natural than that an artist or artists from Baktria should speak of this vihara as the Serika vihara; the common term for China being *Serike*

hostages on the walls; their features, and clothing, and ornaments are like the people of Eastern Hia (China).<sup>204</sup> Afterwards, when they were permitted to return to their own country, they were remembered in their old abode,<sup>205</sup> and notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers, they were without cessation revered with offerings, so that down to the present time the congregation of priests on each rainy season<sup>206</sup> (*frequent this spot*): and on the breaking up of the fast they convene an assembly and pray for the happiness of the hostages,—a pious custom still existing.

To the south of the eastern door of the hall of Buddha belonging to this *sangharama* there is a figure of the Great Spirit King;<sup>207</sup> beneath his right foot they have hollowed the earth for concealing treasures therein. This is the treasury place of the hostages, therefore we find this inscription, "When the *sangharama* decays let men take (*of the treasure*) and repair it." Not long ago there was a petty (*frontier*) king of a covetous mind and of a wicked and cruel disposition; hearing of the quantity of jewels and precious substances concealed in this convent, he drove away the priests and began digging for them. The King of

(Ptol., vi. 16, 1, 3, 4, 6, &c.; Pliny, *H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 20, 5). This conjecture is confirmed by the translation of the term *Sha-lo-kia* given by Hiuen Tsiang. It is not given indeed in my copy, but in the original used by M. Julien the convent is called "the *Sangharama* of men" (*jîn-kia-lan*). This is restored by Julien doubtfully to *Narasangharama* (p. 42). But this (*nara*) is an epithet of the king of China, according to Arabian travellers (vid. *supra*, n. 14, n. 41). It seems, therefore, probable that this *Sangharama* was originally called after the king's son by the Baktrian term, *Serika*.

<sup>204</sup> The Eastern Hia people, *i.e.*, the Chinese, in distinction from the Western Hia, *i.e.*, the Tanguts. Bretschneider, *Notes, Med. Geog., &c.*, p. 35, n. 81.

<sup>205</sup> So I understand the passage. It is not that the hostages remembered their old abode, but that the memory of the hostages remained with the priests of the *Sha-lo-kia* convent. Hence, after the summer rest was over, the priests used to hold a special assembly in order to invoke a blessing on their memory. M. Julien has translated it so in the *Life of Hiouen Tsiang*, p. 72, but in this passage he has inverted the sense.

<sup>206</sup> The rainy season (*varsha*), as is well known, was observed by the Buddhists as a period of retreat, not in the sense of fasting, or, as it has been translated, Lent, but for the purpose of shelter, and also, as stated in the *Vinaya*, to avoid trampling down the young herbage. After the three months' rest, of which there were two kinds,—*viz.* either the first three months, *i.e.*, beginning at the appointed time, and continuing for three consecutive months, or else the second three months, that is, when through inability to begin at the appointed time the retreat was entered on a month later, and therefore lasted a month later,—the retreat was broken up, and presents, &c., were made to the congregation.

<sup>207</sup> This great spirit-king is the same as *Vaisravana*, "the celebrated" (*periklutos*). He is called *Mahakala*, "the great black one;" in Japan he is still called *Dai Gakf*, "the great black," and is generally figured as an old man of dwarfish size, with a sack on his back. I have often myself examined the figure on the hearths of the kitchen at Hakodate. He is in one sense the same as *Kuvera*. For further remarks on this point, see *Academy*, July 3, 1880; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix. p. 203.

the Spirits had on his head the figure of a parrot, which now began to flap its wings and to utter screams. The earth shook and quaked, the king and his army were thrown down prostrate on the ground; after a while, arising from the earth, he confessed his fault and returned.

Above a mountain pass<sup>208</sup> to the north of this convent there are several stone chambers; it was in these the hostages practised religious meditation. In these recesses many and various gems (*precious things*) are concealed: on the side there is an inscription that the Yakshas (*Y'o-cha*) guard and defend the places (*precincts*). If any one wishes to enter and rob the treasures, the Yakshas by spiritual transformation appear in different forms, sometimes as lions, sometimes as snakes, and as savage beasts and poisonous reptiles; under various appearances they exhibit their rage. So no one dares to attempt to take the treasures.

At 2 or 3 li to the west of the stone chambers, above a great mountain pass,<sup>209</sup> there is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva;<sup>210</sup> those who with sincere faith desire (*vow or pray*) to see him, to them the Bodhisattva appears coming forth from the image, his body of marvellous beauty, and he gives rest and reassurance to the travellers.

Thirty li or so to the south-east of the capital we arrive at the convent of Rahula (*Ho-lo-hu-lo*); by its side is a *stupa* about

<sup>208</sup> The convent was three or four li to the east of the capital, and at the foot of a northern mountain, which mountain formed one side of a pass. In General Cunningham's map referred to, there is such a northern mountain detached from the Paghman range, and a pass between it and the main line of hills. Just beyond this pass we find Charikar, close to Opian. If we may rely on these coincidences, the capital of Kapisa would be to the west of this pass about a mile, whilst Charikar would derive its name from the Sha-lo-kia monastery. The text, it must be noticed, does not require the mountain pass to be distinct from the northern mountain, at the base of which the convent was built, but it means that the chambers were excavated on the Northern scarp of the pass. The context, moreover, requires this. For some interesting notices respecting the Buddhist caves of Afghanistan, see *Jour. Ro. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiv. pp. 319 ff.

<sup>209</sup> The meaning is, above a high mountain-side, i.e., as it seems, above a high peak, which would form the beginning of the pass on the western side.

<sup>210</sup> Kwan-tsz'-tsai or Avalokitesvara, "the god that looks down." He is best known in Nepal as Padmapani; in Tibet he is called sPyanras-gzigs-dvang-phyug (pron. Chenresi-vanchug); in China, as Kwanyin; and in Japan as Kuan-non. In Sanskrit he is also known as Karunarnava, Abhayamdada ("the remover of fear"), Abhyutataraja ("the great august king"). &c. See Burnouf, *Int. a l'Hist. d. Budd. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 92, 101, 197—202, 557—559; *Lotus*, pp. 261 ff., 301, 352, 428. *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 233, 239, 247, 253; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. ii. pp. 136 ff., 411 ff.; Vassilief, *Le Bouddh.*, pp. 125, 175, 178, 186, 197; *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. viii. pp. 249—253; Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 357, &c.; *Arch. Sur. Reports, W. India*, vol. iii. pp. 75, 76; vol. v. pp. 11, 14. He is generally described as "the god of mercy," because he hears the cries of men. Probably a relic or revival of the old worship of hill-gods. Hence his figure placed on this mountain-top.

100 feet in height. On sacred days (*fast days*) this building reflects a brilliant light. Above the cupola,<sup>211</sup> from between the interstices of the stone, there exudes a black scented oil, whilst in the quiet night may be heard the sounds of music. According to tradition, this *stupa* was formerly built by Rāhula, a great minister of this country. Having completed this work of merit (*religious work*), he saw in a night-dream a man who said to him, "This *stupa* you have built has no sacred relic (*she-li*) in it as yet; to-morrow, when they come to offer, you must make your request to the king" (*for the offering brought*).

On the morrow, entering the royal court, he pressed his claim (*or he advanced and requested*), and said: "Your unworthy subject ventures to make a request." The king replied: "And what does my lord require?" Answering, he said, "That your majesty would be pleased to favour me by conferring on me the first<sup>212</sup> offering made this day." The king replied: "I consent."

Rahula on this went forth and stood at the palace gate. Looking at all who came towards the spot, suddenly he beheld a man holding in his hand a relic casket (*pitcher*). The great minister said, "What is your will? what have you to offer?" He replied, "Some relics of Buddha." The minister answered, "I will protect them for you. I will first go and tell the king." Rahula, fearing lest the king on account of the great value of the relics should repent him of his former promise, went quickly to the *sangharama* and mounted the *stupa*; by the power of his great faith, the stone cupola opened itself, and then he placed the relics therein. This being done, he was quickly coming out when he caught the hem of his garment in the stone.<sup>213</sup> The king sent to pursue him, but by the time the messengers arrived at the *stupa*, the stones had closed over him; and this is the reason why a black oily substance exudes from the crevices of the building.

To the south<sup>214</sup> of the city 40 li or so, we come to the town of Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse (Svetavaras).<sup>215</sup> In the case of earthquakes,

<sup>211</sup> Above "the covering shaped like a *patra*," i.e., the cupola or dome.

<sup>212</sup> So it appears to me the passage should be translated, "the first offering." Julien renders it as if there were only a single offering.

<sup>213</sup> That is, he caught his garment in the stone of the inner portion of the *stupa* before he could escape to the exterior. The relic casket, as is well known, is placed in a chamber in the upper-middle part of the cupola or dome.

<sup>214</sup> This bearing is given in my text; it seems to be wanting in Julien's.

<sup>215</sup> Julien restores this name to Sphitavaras doubtfully. V. de St. Martin (*Memoire, &c.*, p. 300) suggests Svetavaras. As this seems to be more in agreement with the Japanese equivalents in my text, I have adopted it. The situation or name of this city is unknown. General Cunningham suggests Saptavarsha or Sattavasa, and connects with this name, "the Thatagush of the inscriptions of Darius, who are the Sattagudai of Herodotus" (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 26). If we suppose the Chel

and even when the tops of the mountains fall, there is no commotion around this city.

Thirty li or so to the south of the town of Si-po-to-fa-la-sse we come to a mountain called 'O-lu-no (Aruna.)<sup>216</sup> The crags and precipices of this mountain are of a vast height, its caverns and valleys are dark and deep. Each year the peak increases in height several hundred feet, until it approaches the height of Mount Tsu-na-hi-lo (Sunagir)<sup>217</sup> in the kingdom of Tsu-ku-cha (Tsaukuta);<sup>218</sup> then when it thus faces it, suddenly it falls down again. I have heard this story in neighbouring countries. When first the heavenly spirit Suna came from far to this mountain desiring to rest, the spirit of the mountain, affrighted, shook the surrounding valleys. The heavenly spirit said, "Because you have no wish to entertain me, therefore this tumult and confusion; if you had but entertained me for a little while, I should have conferred on you great riches and treasure; but now I go to 'Tsu-cha to the mountain Tsu-na-hi-lo, and I will visit it every year. On these occasions, when the king and his ministers offer me their tribute, then you shall stand face to face with me." Therefore Mount 'O-lu-no having increased to the height (*aforesaid*), suddenly falls down again at the top.

About 200 li to the north-west of the royal city we come to a great snowy mountain, on the summit of which is a lake. Here whoever asks for rain or prays for fine wheather, according to his request so he receives.

Tradition says in old time there was an Arhat (*Lo-han*) belonging to Gandhara (Kien-t'o-lo) who constantly received the religious offerings of the Naga king of this lake. On the arrival of the time for the mid-day meal, by his spiritual power he rose with the mat on which he sat into the air, and went (*to the place where the Naga dwelt*). His attendant, a Sramanera (*novice*), secretly catching hold of the under part of the mat, when the time came for the Arhat to go, was transported in a moment with him (*to the place of the Naga*). On arriving at the palace,

Dukhtaran peak to be the same as the mountain called O-lu-no (about to be noticed), then measuring north about six miles, we should come to Begram; from this, eight miles north—according to our text—would take us up the Panjsbir river, and not to the capital. There is no bearing given in the Freneb translation, and it is possible that the symbol for south in our text has been interpolated. From Hiuen Tsiang's remark "that the city of Svetavaras could not be destroyed," we may perhaps identify it with the Tetragnon of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vi. c. 25.

<sup>216</sup> 'O-lu-no may be restored to Aruna, "the red." The symbol *na*, however, is especially referred to in a note as being equal in sound to *n(oo) + (k)o*, i.e., *no*.

<sup>217</sup> The symbols *Tsu-na-hi-lo* would give Sunahir. The Japanese phonetic equivalent for *hi* is given as *ki* or *gi*, which (if correct) gives us Sunagir. Julien suggests Kshunahila.

<sup>218</sup> The kingdom of Tsaukuta appears, from the return journey, to be the same as Sewistan. The high mountain of Tukatu may perhaps represent the *Tsu-na-hi-lo* of the text. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iii. p. 384.

the Naga, whilst he desired the Sramanera, as was his custom, partake of his hospitality, he provided the Arhat with "immortal food," but gave to the Sramanera food used by men. The Arhat having finished his meal, began then to preach for the good of the Naga, whilst he desired the Sramanera, as was his custom, to wash out his alms-bowl. Now the bowl happened to have in it some fragments of (the heavenly) food. Startled at the fragrance of this food,<sup>219</sup> forthwith there arose in him an evil determination (vow). Irritated with his master, and hating the Naga, he uttered the prayer (vow) that the force of all his religious merit might now be brought into operation with a view to deprive the Naga of life, and, "May I," he said, "myself become a Naga-king."

No sooner had the Sramanera made this vow than the Naga perceived his head to be in pain.

The Arhat having finished his preaching concerning the duty of repentance, the Naga-king confessed his sins, condemning himself. But the Sramanera still cherishing hatred in his heart, confessed not. And now having returned to the *sangharama*, in very truth the prayer he had put up in consequence of the power of his religious merit was accomplished, and that very night he died and became a Naga-king. Then filled with rage, he entered the lake and killed the other Naga king, and took possession of his palace; moreover, he attached to himself the whole fraternity of his class (i.e., all the Nagas) to enable him to carry out his original purpose. Then fiercely raising the winds and tempests, he rooted up the trees and aimed at the destruction of the convent.

At this time Kanishka-king, surprised at the ravages, inquired of the Arhat as to the cause, on which he told the whole circumstance. The king therefore, for the sake of the Naga,<sup>220</sup> founded a *sangharama* at the foot of the Snowy Mountains, and raised a *stupa* about 100 feet in height. The Naga, cherishing his former hatred, raised the wind and rain. The king persevering in his purpose of charity, the Naga redoubled his fury (angry poison), and became exceedingly fierce. Six times he destroyed the *sangharama* and the *stupa*, and on the seventh occasion Kanishka, confused by his failure, determined to fill the Naga's lake and overthrow his palace. He came therefore with his soldiers to the foot of the Snowy Mountains.

Then the Naga-king, being terrified and shaken with apprehension, changed himself into an aged Brahman, and bowing down before the king's elephant, he remonstrated with the king, and said, "Maharaja, because of your accumulated merit in

<sup>219</sup> That is, startled to find from the fragrance that this food was different from that which he had received.

<sup>220</sup> That is (as it seems), for the sake of the Naga who was dead.

former births, you have now been born a king of men, and you have no wish which is not gratified. Why then to-day are you seeking a quarrel with a Naga? Nagas are only brutish creatures. Nevertheless amongst lower creatures<sup>221</sup> the Naga possesses great power, which cannot be resisted. He rides on the clouds, drives the winds, passes through space, and glides over the waters; no human power can conquer him.<sup>222</sup> Why then is the king's heart so angry? You have now raised the army of your country to fight with a single dragon; if you conquer, your renown will not spread very far;<sup>223</sup> but if you are conquered, then you will suffer the humiliation of defeat. Let me advise the king to withdraw his troops."

The king Kanishka hesitating to comply, the dragon returned to his lake. His voice, like the thunderclap, shook the earth, and the fierce winds tore up the trees, whilst stones and sand pelted down like rain; the sombre clouds obscured the air, so that the army and the horses were filled with terror. The king then paid his adoration to the Three Precious ones, and sought their help, saying, "My abounding merit during former births has brought about my state as king of men. By my power I have restrained the strong and conquered the world (*Jambudvīpa*). But now (*as it appears*), by the onslaught of a dragon-beast overcome, this, verily, is proof of my poor merit! Let the full power of all my merit now appear!"

Then from both his shoulders there arose a great flame and smoke.<sup>224</sup> The dragon fled, the winds hushed, the mists were melted, and the clouds were scattered. Then the king commanded each man of his army to take a stone and thus to fill up the dragon lake.

Again the dragon king changed himself into a Brahman, and asked the king once more, "I am the Naga king of yonder lake. Affrighted by your power, I tender my submission. Would that the king in pity might forgive my former faults! The king indeed loves to defend and cherish all animated beings, why then alone against me is he incensed? If the king kill me, then we both shall fall into an 'evil way'—the king, for killing; I, for cherishing an angry mind. Deeds and their con-

<sup>221</sup> Among the lower creatures belonging to an evil class; referring to the evil ways or modes of birth (*jāti*). The three evil ways are birth as a beast, as a preta, or a demon.

<sup>222</sup> Or, "it is no human power which restrains him."

<sup>223</sup> Or, "an acknowledged afar renown;" or it may be, as in Julien's translation, "the renown of one who conquers the distant; this, however, appears strained.

<sup>224</sup> A great smoke-brightness. The flames on the shoulders are observable on some of the Kanerki coins. We may compare with these flames the two ravens that sit on the shoulders of *Odinn*, and also "the echo of heathen thought" which makes the dove sit on Christ's shoulder at his baptism (*Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, by Stallyhrass, vol. i. p. 148).



sequences will be plainly manifested when the good and evil are brought to light."

The king then agreed with the Naga that if hereafter he should again be rebellious there should be no forgiveness. The Naga said, "Because of my evil deeds I have received a dragon form. The nature of Nagas is fierce and wicked, so that they are unable to control themselves; if by chance an angry heart rises in me, it will be from forgetfulness of our present compact. The king may now build the *sangharama* once more; I will not venture to destroy it again. Each day let the king send a man to observe the mountain top; if it is black with clouds then let him sound the *ghanta* (drum or slymbal) loudly; when I hear the sound of it, my evil purpose will subside."

Forthwith the king renewed his work in raising the *sangharama* and *stupa*. People look out for the clouds and mists on the mountain top down to the present day. Tradition says that in this *stupa* there is a considerable quantity (a pint, or *shing*) of relics<sup>225</sup> of Tathagata, consisting of his hones and flesh, and that wonderful miracles are wrought thereby, which it would be difficult to name separately. At one time, from within the *stupa* there arose suddenly a smoke, which was quickly followed by a fierce flame of fire. On this occasion the people said the *stupa* was consumed. They gazed for a long time till the fire was expended and the smoke disappeared, when they beheld a *Sarira* like a white pearl gem,<sup>226</sup> which moved with a circular motion round the surmounting pole of the *stupa*; it then separated itself and ascended up on high to the region of the clouds, and after scintillating there awhile, again descended with a circular motion.<sup>227</sup>

To the north-west of the capital there is a large river<sup>228</sup> on the southern bank of which, in a convent of an old king, there is a milk-tooth of Sakyo Bodhisattva; it is about an inch in length.

To the south-east of this convent there is another, which is also called the convent of the old king; in this is a piece of the skull-bone of Tathagata; the surface of it is about an inch

<sup>225</sup> The words rendered "relics," &c., are in the original "bone and flesh *sariras*;" that is, "bone and flesh remains," or body-relics.

<sup>226</sup> The symbol for "gem" is of uncertain meaning. There is a precious gem from the Lu country called *yu-fan*. It is the latter of these two words that occurs in the text, connected with *chu*, a pearl. I have therefore translated *chu-fan* by pearl-gem.

<sup>227</sup> This accounts probably refers to some electrical phenomenon. The surmounting pole of the *stupa* was provided with metal rings or discs, and was capped generally with a metal "pitcher" (so called). This would naturally act as a lightning conductor.

<sup>228</sup> This great river may be the affluent of the Kabul river flowing through the Ghorband valley. It flows about east and west after leaving the valley; the southern bank, therefore, would be that nearest the site of the capital.

in breadth, its colour a yellowish white; the little hair orifices are plainly seen. There is, moreover, a hair-top<sup>229</sup> of Tathagata of a dark auburn colour; the hair turns to the right; drawing it out, it is about a foot long; when folded up it is only about half an inch. These three objects are revered with offerings by the king and the great ministers on each of the six fast (*holy*) days.

To the south-west of the convent of the skull-bone is the convent of the wife of the old king, in which there is a gilded *stupa* (*copper gilt*), about 100 feet in height. Tradition says in this *stupa* is about a pint of the relics of Buddha. On the fifteenth day of each month, in the evening, it reflects a circular halo of glory which lights up the dew-dish.<sup>230</sup> Thus it shines till the morning, when it gradually disappears and enters the *stupa*.

To the south-west of the town is Mount Pi-lo-sa-lo (Pilusara);<sup>231</sup> the mountain spirit takes the form of an elephant, hence the name. In old days, when Tathagata was alive, the spirit, called Pilusara (*siang-kien*, i.e., elephant-fixed), asked the Lord of the World and 1200 Arhats (*to partake of his hospitality*). On the mountain crag is a great solid rock; here it was Tathagata received his offerings of spirit. Afterwards Asokaraja erected on this same rock a *stupa* about 100 feet in length. It is now called the *stupa* of the Elephant-strength (Pilusara). They say that in this also is about a pint measure of the relics of Tathagata.

To the north of the Pilusara Stupa is a mountain cavern, below which is a Naga fountain. It was here that Tathagata, having received from the spirit some food (*rice*) with the Arhats, cleansed his mouth and rubbed his teeth with a piece of willow branch.<sup>232</sup> This he planted in the ground, and it forthwith took root, and is now a bushy grove. Afterwards men built here a *sangharama*, and called it the convent of the Pi-to-kia (*the willow twig*).

Going eastward from this 600 li or so, across a continuation of mountains and valleys, the peaks being of a stupendous height, and skirting the "black ridge,"<sup>233</sup> we enter north India, and crossing the frontier, come to the country of Lan-po (Lamghan).

<sup>229</sup> That is, a hair from the top-knot hair.

<sup>230</sup> I.e., the circular dish at the top of the surmounting pole.

<sup>231</sup> Elephant-firm.

<sup>232</sup> The wood commonly used in India is that of the *Khadira* tree, the *Acacia Catechu*. After being used as a tooth-cleaner it is generally split in two, and one part used to scrape the tongue. Hence probably the name *Pi-to-kiu* given in the text, which seems to be a form of the Sanskrit *vidala*, leafless; or, as Julien suggests, of *Vairaka*, a reed, a twig.

<sup>233</sup> That is, the Shiah Koh, or the range which separates Lamghan from the upper valley of the Kao and that of the Picha.





Travels to Japan

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